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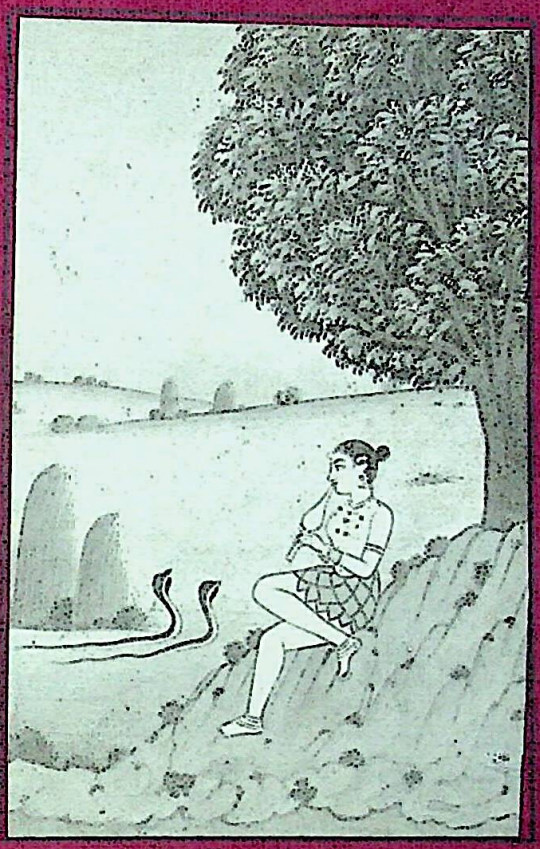

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN MUSIC

SWAMI PRAJNANANDA

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OF
INDIAN MUSIC

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By the same Author

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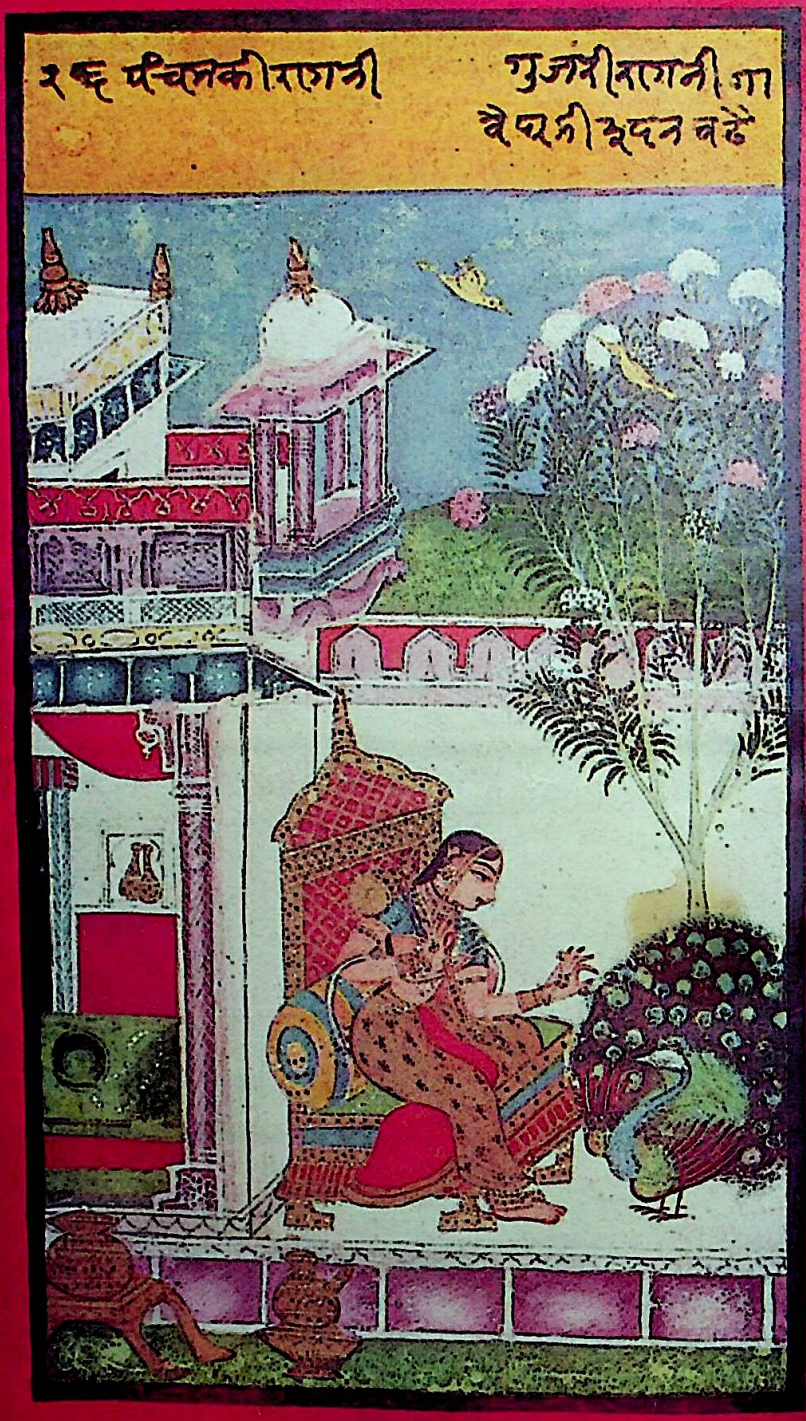

RAGA GURJARI

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HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

OF

INDIAN MUSIC

आर्य-ग्रन्थालय,
भरतनिधि, करौंदी
वाराणसी-5

by

SWĀMI PRAJÑĀNĀNANDA

FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY
6/1A, BANCHHARAM AKRUR LANE, CALCUTTA-12

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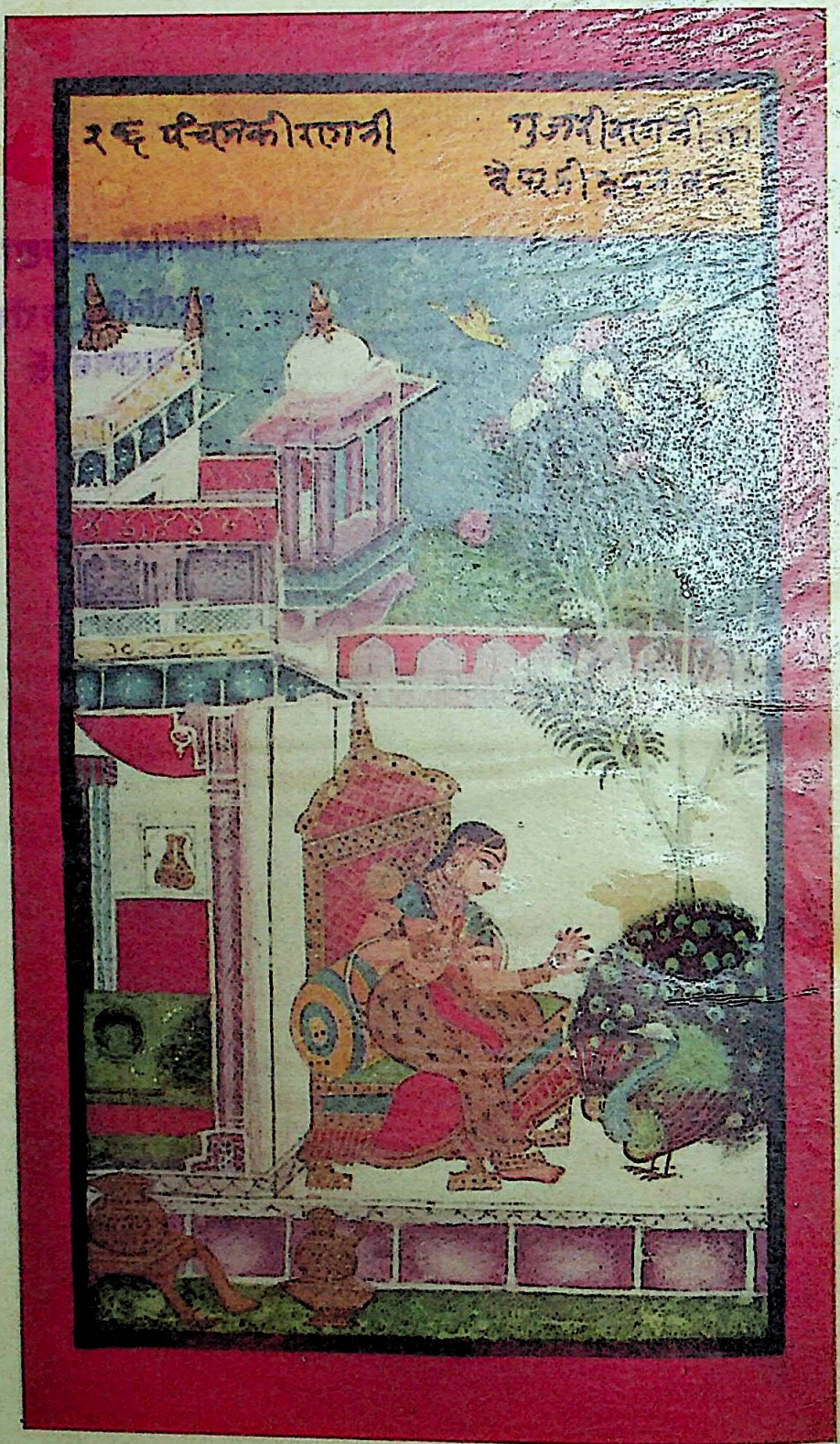

RAGA GURJARI
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HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

OF

INDIAN MUSIC

आम्नाय-ग्रन्थालय,
भरतनिधि, फरीदी
भारतवर्ष-5

by

SWĀMI PRAJÑĀNĀNANDA

FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY
6/1A, BANCHHARAM AKRUR LANE, CALCUTTA-12

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PREFACE

THOUGH this volume, *Historical Development of Indian Music*, is not in itself a chronological history of Indian music, yet it contains a systematic historical account of some of the essential features of Indian music that enrich the pages of its history. By 'development', I mean 'gradual evolution' or 'progress' in the sense of 'unfoldment' or 'coming into being' of that which remains latent in the womb of Nature, and so the word 'development' or 'evolution' here connotes the idea of manifestation of the unmanifested things, through a gradual process.

There are some who believe that everything in this world remains in a constant form, and there is nothing like evolution in the sense of change. But this is a kind of blind faith which has no logical and scientific basis. In fact, everything in this world of change is subject to movement, forward or backward. As for example, a tree exists at first in a seed form, and then comes out as a sprout, and gradually develops into a big tree. A man begins his career as a child before attaining maturity. So change is inevitable in this world of time-space-causation.

We are aware of the golden proverb : 'Rome was not built in a day'. In truth, not only Rome, but all the cities and countries, nay,

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all things in this world of phenomena have come into being through a gradual process, and nothing has ever been created accidentally or by chance. Something develops means it moves gradually forward one step at a time, just as a man walks step by step. Indian Music has also developed through the same process. It passed through different strata of evolution, in different periods,—primitive, pre-historic, Vedic, classical, mediaeval, and modern. It will move onward again, and in the process will undergo modifications in the future. The music of the most ancient primitive period supplied materials for the development of the systematic and scientific music of the Vedic days. The Vedic music, *sāmagāna* again helped the onward progress of the *gāndharva* type of music, which, in its turn, was again replaced by the formalized regional or *deśī* but classical music, with new nomenclatures and forms. We thus find that music undergoes changes through all ages, with additions, alterations, modifications, reconstructions, adjustments, readjustments, rectifications, and so on. We should maintain, therefore, a liberal and broad vision in the field of Indian music. The possibility of new orientation in forms and manifestations of this music should neither be ruled out, nor discouraged, over-looked or rejected. But we should always strive to draw inspiration from the glorious heritage of the past and the pristine ideal of

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Indian music. Modern science and researches have also helped our musicology to have a new and progressive orientation.

Musicology is called the science of music, as it helps us understand or realize music in its true perspective and colour. It formulates laws and rules that lead music to its right path, and thus protects and preserves it in its pristine purity and glory as it were. The musicologists and musicians are fully aware that the notes or *svaras* (the word '*sva*' means 'by itself' and '*ra*' connotes the idea of *rañjana* which means 'pleasing') are the vital elements in Indian music, and that they design the *rāgas* that form the very basis, nay, the life-force or *prāṇa*. The Indian musicology had moreover devised the microtones long before the Christian era, and framed the notes that are deeply saturated with emotions, and are nourished by subtle sentiments. The *rāgas* are formed out of the permutations and combinations of notes. The notes are, therefore, the norm or matrix of the *rāgas*, and as such the *rāgas* create impressions, and rouse the emotive feelings in the hearts of the sentient beings, and a wave of sublimity sweeps over them when they are sung. The note that generates the greater number of emotions and feelings, is called the sonant or *vādī*. The function of the sonant is to help the manifestation of the *rāga*. The sonant or *vādī* (*vadanāt*

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vādī, i.e. which speaks of, or determines, or makes manifest the *rāga*) is the prime thing, and plays a prominent part in Indian music. It helps the living beings to become conscious of their innate delightful nature. It also makes them conscious of their inherent divine energy that lies dormant in the subconscious mind. *Samvādī* means the consonant or melodic affinity between the notes, first and fourth, or first and fifth, that occurs at the distances of the ninth and thirteenth microtonal units. *Samvādī* is termed as the consonant, because it brings in the greatest affinity between two allied notes. *Anuvādī* is termed as the assonant, as it acts next to the sonant or *vādī* (*anu*+*vādī*, i.e., that comes after *vādī*, the sonant), while the other one is termed as the dissonant or *vivādī*, for its having a contrary tendency, bent upon destroying the state of equilibrium or balance of the *rāga*, and is, therefore, unhelpful in perfecting the emotive feelings.

The twenty-two microtones and ten essentials (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) are indispensable for the fuller manifestation of the *rāgas*, and they are full of inner significance and value in the science of Indian music or musicology. Besides, there are *varṇas* and *alaṁkāras*, *mūrcchanās*, and other musical ingredients. The *varṇa* is the musical effort or *gānakriyā*. It determines the ascent and descent of notes of the *rāgas* that create the sentiments and emotive feelings (*rasa* and

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bhāva). A *rāga* is so called, because it creates enjoyability or *rakti-bhāva*, which originates from the sentiments that lie hidden in the tones and microtones. The *alaṁkāras* are the combined forms of the ascent and descent of seven notes, and as such they are the varieties of the *varṇas* or musical efforts. The *mūrcchanās* evolve with the help of the notes in a cyclic order, and create different shades or *chāyās* of the *rāgas*, having different emotions. The *vistāra* or elaboration of the notes creates *ālāpa* that makes the *prabandhas* or musical compositions and *sthāyas* or musical phrases of the songs (*gītis*) perfect and significant with the parts like *ākṣiptikā*, from which a *rāga* is thrown out or manifested in all directions. It is called *rāgavardhanī*, as it makes the expansion of the *rāga*, etc. (vide *Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*, VIII. 1-11). The *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* is mainly concerned with the *ākśiptikā* in connection with *ālāpa*, and this *ākśiptikā* is divided into four parts. The method of *ālāpa* makes a *rāga* manifest fully, with its aesthetic lustre and emotional appeal. Besides, there are also other essential ingredients that are required to be observed to make the *rāgas* manifest with their *rakti* and *rasa bhāvas*.

Now, what are the *prabandha* and *sthāya*? A *prabandha* is a systematic musical composition, bound up with different *dhātus* (music-parts), *aṅgas* (limbs), and *jātis*, etc. A *sthāya* is a musical phrase that creates the shade or *chāyā*

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of a *rāga*. Pārśvadevà and Śāraṅgadeva have fully described the forms of different kinds of *sthāyas* in the *Saṅgīta-samayasāra* and the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* respectively. Pārśvadeva has observed (vide *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*, II. 34) :

गत्या गमकयोगेन रागेणान्येन केन वा ।
स्वरैर्वृत्तिः स्वरवृत्तिष्ठाय इत्यभिधीयते ॥

The cluster of notes is the basis of a musical effort or *varṇa* (*gānakriyā*), and this cluster of notes is no other than the musical phrase or *sthāya* or ṭhāya. Pārśvadeva has further observed,

तत्र स्याय्यादिवर्णानामाश्रयः स्वरमण्डलः ।
स्थानमित्युच्यते तस्मिन्नुदाहरणमुच्यते ॥

यथा वेलावल्यां ध नि स रि ग म प, छायानट्यायां स रि ग म प ध नि इत्यादि ।

In fact, the *sthāyas* are the shadowy forms (*chāyās*) or tonal structures of the *rāgas*. Śāraṅgadeva says : 'रागस्यावयवः स्थायः' (III. 97). The total number of the musical phrases (*sthāyas*) are 96, as described by Pārśvadeva and Śāraṅgadeva. These 96 phrases are meant for the *gītis* or *gānas*. There are also phrases or *sthāyas* for the musical instruments, and they are known as '*rāgamagnā*' : 'रागमग्ना वाद्यशब्दा येषु ते वाद्यशब्दजाः' (SR. III. 119). Siṁha-bhupāla has mentioned : 'रागमग्ना रागानुरञ्जिता ये वीणादिष्वेव बाहुल्लेन प्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते, ते यन्त्रसम्बन्धिनः' । The ascent and descent of notes of the

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musical phrases, together with the musical effort or *varṇa*, the sonant or *vādī* or *aṁśa*, the consonant or *samvādī*, etc. create aesthetic sense, and stir up the emotional appeal in the hearts of the sentient beings.

The question now arises whether we strictly observe all these musical ingredients for manifesting the *rāgas* in our present-day music. We think we do, to some extent, without knowing their proper use and value. We know that there are microtones in between the tones of the *rāgas*, and that they radiate aesthetic sentiments for creating enjoyability in our music, but we do neither care to be conscious of them, nor do we know how and when to create adequate emotions and feelings through the tones. We know about the *varṇa* and *alaṁkāra*, but we, so to say, have forgotten their uses, intrinsic values and colours. We know the importance of the sonant, consonant and assonant, but we do not know the art of their use, or of their functions, when practising the *rāgas*. We read or hear about the musical compositions like *prabandhas*, different musical phrases like *sthāyas*, having emotional units, but we take very little care for reviving their real forms, and beauty and value. These are not healthy signs for the re-orientation of Indian music. So every one of us, who loves music, and cultures music, should strive his or her utmost to avert the calamity impending on our divine music. The secret of

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practice of Indian music is maintained by the traditional way of understanding between the teacher and the disciple (*guru-śiṣya-paramparā*), and so, if this divine art is guided by the inspiration derived from of the musical *śāstras* and genius of the intuitive teachers, its form and ideal will again be revived like those prevailing in the glorious past.

However, constructive work in the field of musicology should always be welcomed to strengthen the bed-rock of Indian music. Physics, physiology, psychology, history, iconography, and philosophy of music should be studied in their true perspectives, and their useful principles should be applied to music, where and when necessary, for the betterment of its form, volume and value. Musical theory in the West has already been developed in a dynamic way, because science has been put into use in the field of its study. The fruit of such a dynamic scientific development is apparent in the works of the great geniuses like Helmholtz, Miller, Einstein, Jeans, Sullivan, Lord Raybeigh, Alexander Wood, Seashore, Revesz, Percy Buck, Wilmer Bartholomew, and other scientists and physicists. They have undoubtedly enriched, enlightened, and enlivened the researches as well as the experimental fields of the Western music. In India, the celebrated old masters like Muni Bharata, Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Kaśyapa, Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva, Śāraṅgadeva, Vidyāraṇya, Puṇḍarika-

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Viṭṭhala, Somanāth, Dāmodara, Govinda Dīkṣita, Veṅkatamakhi and others, and savants like Pt. Ārchekar, Paṇḍit Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe, Sir S. M. Tagore, Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, Rādhā Mohan Sen, Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee, and others have enriched the lore of Indian music by their incessant researches and experiments.

Still it remains for us to march forward, by adopting and assimilating new and novel means and methods to improve our divine music. A new era of scientific outlook has dawned upon the horizon of the world of investigation and research, and the social environment and atmosphere have undergone revolutionary changes, and as such we shall have to investigate again into the things of the past in the light of modern researches. The old Sanskrit treatises should be surveyed with a modern scientific outlook, and a constructive view should always be maintained with creative approach. Superstition, bigotry and fanaticism should always be shunned for the sake of truth, and we must have liberal and broad vision in every walk of our life.

It is gratifying to learn that the Deccan College of Poona has already started its experiments and researches upon music, under the able guidance of Dr. Sankaran, Dr. B. Chaitanya Dev, and others. The Indian Institute of Science at Bāṅgālore is also making new researches on music. Interesting experiments are also going on in the Universities of Jubbulpore and

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Ānnāmālāi, where the chemists and botanists are studying the effect of music on the properties of matter and plants. The same experiments have already been started in the laboratories of Bell Telephone Company, Harvard and Iowa Universities in America. A. H. Swinton, Prof. A. M. Mayer, Frank E. Lutz, and others have also made researches on the musical sounds of the insects, and some of their research works have been published in the *Bulletin* of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. All these works and researches reveal hopeful signs for the future prospects of the world music.

In this book, I have mainly dealt with subjects like the historical method in the study of music in general, evolution of Indian music, evolution of the *rāgas*, *rāga vasanta*, music-part or *dhātu*, rhythm and tempo, *veeṇā*, notes and scales of the Vedic music, as well as with the development of classical music, music literature, and *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal. As regards the classical music of Bengal, I have mainly confined myself to the history of its growth in Greater Bengal, and have also dealt with some aspects of its latter-day development. Some years ago I contributed an article under the caption : *The Modern Trend of Classical Music in Bengal* to the Seminar of Music, arranged by the Sangeet Nātak Akadami, Delhi, wherein, I dealt with the development and culture of classical music in

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Bengal, since its inception upto the modern times. It is well known to the music lovers of Bengal that our State owes much to the stalwart Muslim musicians like Ustād Kakubh Khān, Ustād Ameer Khān, Ustād Mohammed Āli Khān, Ustād Uzir Khān, Ustād Imdād Khān, Ustād Faiyaz Khān and others, as also to the savants like Murāri Mohan Gupta, Durlabh Chandra Bhattācārya, Dinanāth Hāzrā, Nagendra Nāth Mukherji, Kesab Chandra Mitra, Gopāl Chandra Banerjee, Nikunja Behāri Dutt, Pramatha Nāth Banerjee, Bhagavān Chandra Sen, Girijā Śaṅkar Chakravurty, to name only a few. I shall deal with the later development of classical music in Bengal in a separate volume in future.

I offer my heartfelt thanks and deep sense of gratitude to Hon'ble Dr. B. V. Keskar, the the Union Minister of the Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, for a learned and thoughtful Foreword, which has undoubtedly raised the prestige of this book.

I also pay homage and obeisance to my revered music teachers, Ācarya Harinārāyaṇa Mukhopādhyāy of Devanāthpurā, Banaras, Saṅgītācārya Pāñch Kari Banerjee, my elder brother, Nikuñja Bihārī Dutt, the noted disciple of Saṅgīta-ratnākara Aghore Nāth Chakravurty, Sangīta-Nāyaka Gopeśwar Banerjee of Viṣṇupur, Jñānendra Prasād Goswāmī, and others, from whom I learned *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl* for years together. The sweet remembrance of

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Banaras, where I used to take lessons in music from the renowned Dhrupadīyā Harinārāyaṇa Bābu, study *Navya-Nyāya* from Paṇḍit Vāmācaraṇa Bhattācārya, Nyāyācārya, and *Advaita Vedānta* from Swāmī Jagadānandajī Mahārāj of the Ramakrishna Advaita Ashrama, inspires me even to this day, like 'music that vibrates in the memory when soft voices die'.

My thanks are due to Shri Subodh Kumar Chatterjee, B.A., Shri Upendra Kumar Dutt, Srimatī Mīrā Mitra and Dr. Bāsanti Choudhury, M.A., B.T., for going through the manuscript and proofs, and for helping me in many other ways.

In conclusion, I convey my deep sense of gratitude to Dr. D. M. Sen, Secretary, Education Department, Government of West Bengal, Dr. V. Rāghavan, Head of the Sanskrit Dept., University of Madras, Prof. Thākur Jaidev Singh, Chief Producer, All India Radio, Delhi, Shri Suresh Chandra Chakravurty, Sangīta-śāstrī, Paṇḍit S. N. Ratanjaṅkar, Vice-Chancellor, Indirā Kalā-Saṅgīta-Viśva-Vidyālaya, Khariāgarh, M. P., and Shri R. L. Roy, Dean of the Faculty of Music, University of Delhi, for encouraging me in many ways in my research.

It is necessary to mention in this connection that some of the topics of this book were previously published in some of the journals, now they have been thoroughly revised and rewritten for this book. My thanks are due to

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Shri K. L. Mukhopādhyāy of 6/1A, Bañchārām Akrur Lane, Calcutta, for publishing this volume. I am also indebted to the Pooran Press for neatly printing the Book, and to the Archaeological Dept., Government of India, New Delhi, for supplying me some of the plates of the *veeṇā*, and for giving me permission to print them.

Ramakrishna Vedanta Math
19B, Raja Rajkrishna Street,
Calcutta-6. March, 1960.

SWĀMĪ PRAJÑĀNĀNANDA

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FOREWORD

I welcome this effort at a scientific study of the history of music by Swami Prajnanananda. It is unfortunate that at present the study of music is sadly lacking. The musicians have mainly become only practicians, some degenerating into just repetitors. The belief, strengthened during the last three centuries or so that music is only gained by practice, is an erroneons one. The study of the theory, history and background of music is as essential for gaining a practical mastery over it as actual vocal or finger practice. The decline in Indian music is mainly due to the decline in the study of Shastra of music.

It is possible that during the 17th and 18th centuries, when large numbers of eminent Muslim musicians came to the fore, the study of the Shastras or the theory practically stopped, the reason being that the Shastras are in Sanskrit and the musicians did not know anything of that superb language. From that it was only one step to maintain that there is no practical utility in the study of the books. Some of them sincerely believed that this book knowledge is utterly useless.

Absence of this vital and essential general culture of music has created a lopsided and distorted position in our music. Parrot-like copying from the voice of one Guru by his disciple has led to the gradual changing and

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distortion of the various compositions and even swaras. No human instrument is prefect and no Guru can transmit to his disciple exactly what he knew and hundred per cent correctly. The capacity of the disciple, physically and mentally, to assimilate whatever has been taught vocally, is the most important factor in any such transmission. As the physical potential of every being differs from others, it was natural that every disciple dropped some of the finer points of the teaching of his Guru. In half a dozen generations this led to a very considerable change in the original compositions and the way of rendering them. This would not have happened if there had been the study of Shastra and the outline of music in writing.

The study of history and theory of music, therefore, is very essential in any further progress of music. I am very glad, therefore, that Swami Prajnanananda is rendering by writing this book a solid contribution towards that objective.

The most notable effort in the study of theory and practice of music as a Shastra was that made by the late Pandit Bhatkhande. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that the present-day renaissance of Hindusthani music owes much to the research that he carried out in unearthing old Shastric manuscripts, in gathering together with great labour and ingenuity old genuine compositions of great masters and in analysing and rationalising all the material

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that he had gathered into a coherent theoretical structure of Hindusthani music. It is a pity that the monumental work done by Bhatkhande could not be continued, because no such genius as he took up his mantle. But it is essential that scholars who have the right approach, should try to further the cause that he began so well.

The blind copying of particular compositions without any background or study of Shastras has brought present-day music to a sorry state. Eccentric mannerisms, distortions and such other influences have crept in. The object of music which is to please, has gone into the background. Acrobatics have gained prominence, and there is a danger of music losing popular support which is essential for its development and progress. Music is a dynamic art and if it does not adapt itself, on the foundation of the noble Shastras, to new conditions and create new forms, it will not be able to get any place in the new order of things. A large number of short-sighted musicians who have only a narrow view of things and are concerned only with themselves or their particular small group, do not realise that they are not helping in the growth or development of music. Unless we shed the eccentricities and acrobatics that have developed in music and make it more pleasant, more spiritual and more appealing, we will not be able to attract the public again to the enjoyment of musical art. If no heed is paid

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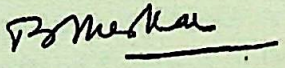
to this state of affairs, music is not likely to gain public support in spite of all efforts of the State to revive the art.

There is another link between Swami Prajnanananda and myself. I have had the privilege of learning music for a pretty long period from the late Dhrupadacharya Shri Hari Narayan Mukhopadhyay of Banaras from whom Swamiji also learnt his music. In fact, I might say that my appreciation and glimpses into the world of music are really due to Shri Hari Narayanaji. So we have, therefore, a link of brotherhood which gives me added pleasure in writing a few words to the excellent book that Swamiji has written.



New Delhi,
September, 1, 1958.

(Dr. B. V. Keskar)

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PRELUDE

FROM the dawn of history, ever since mankind started on its journey along the path of progress and civilization, music has had a very special charm for the human mind. It can very well be called the magic of sound, and it has always been a very important element in the culture of all civilized tribes and races. We know very well that the different moods and temperaments of different tribes and races have been very largely moulded by the physical surroundings and climatic conditions of the regions, inhabited by them. The phlegmatic and stolid inhabitants of cold and bleak regions, the gay and light-hearted children of the sunny south of Europe, the fiery tribes of the deserts with their fierce love and hate, the splendour-loving people of the gorgeous tropics are all, literally speaking, children of the soil they inhabit. Their moods and temperaments are reflected in their music in which their heightened emotions try to find an outlet. Almost unutterable woe and grief, the deep and tranquil happiness of sacred life, the ordinary pleasures and pains, love and hatred, martial ardour, call to duty, are all sought to be given expression to in the music of different tribes and races in different ways and according to their character and temperaments.

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Thus, we find, diversity in the music of different peoples of the world. But it seems very probable that beneath the diversity, there is an under-current of unity. The Vedānta philosophy says that the soul of humanity is one though seemingly different in different bodies. An analytical as well as comparative study of the Indian music will therefore be a useful step in that direction. It can at least be hoped that such a study will lead us to music which will appeal to all nations and tribes of the Aryan stock. To Indian musicians it is also necessary to preserve the continuity of progress and evolution.

There is a vast scope for improvement of Indian music through the adaptation of the Western technique of harmony, specially in orchestration. Many types of *rāgas* may find their fuller realization and attain greater richness in the Western orchestration. One can see a glimmer on the horizon of the dawn of an era of such synthesis of the Western and Eastern systems of music. But the composers of such synthetic music must have a clear perception of the spirit of the Oriental music, so that their composition may also retain its Oriental character and glamour.

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CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL METHOD IN THE STUDY OF MUSIC

INDIAN music dates from dim antiquity, and it is still on its march. It will not come to an end so long as it retains its creative force and artistic merit. A history is conceived as the narration or tale of memorable events that preserves the memory and propagates the knowledge of glorious culture and civilization of man and his society. Now, the term 'history' connotes the idea of progress. It does not stop for a moment, but marches onwards towards the eternity, weaving the networks of subjective thoughts and objective actions of the human society. K.A. Nilkāṇṭha Śāstrī, and H.S. Ramanna say : 'History is such a wide subject that it knows no beginning and no end. Each act or historical episode is the effect of some previous episode and probably leads on to another'. Further they say : 'History, then, is in part a science. It is also, and in a much greater degree, an art. It consists not only in collecting facts about the past, but in thinking and feeling about them. * * We must have a proper conception of the facts, of the conditions, of the motives, and of the characters. * * The past cannot be constructed by men whose knowledge of life has been gained only

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from documents. Mere accumulation of facts is insufficient. Using our imagination and our judgment, we have to interpret them. No, facts do not always speak for themselves. They have to be weighed and measured. They must be placed in their proper setting. There must be intelligent reflection upon the significance of the facts. There must be that insight into reality without which the past can have no vital meaning for living men'.[1] Such is also the opinion of Bury. To Croce, the average historian is a mere chronicler, for facts only become history when they have passed through the crucible of an individual mind. No historian can forecast the future, and so Croce rejects determinism as decisively as Toynbee. Prof. Renier emphasises the social role of history. Toynbee, like Spengler, envisages history as a record of civilizations rather than of centuries and continents. Spengler is a quasibiological determinist 'who holds that all civilizations are fated to die, and that the future will be as the past'.

The history can be regarded as an art, and the history of music shall be known as 'art of arts' or a greater art, as it is not only the narrative accounts or chronicles of sensible material facts of music, but of the supersensible grace and beauty of the tones and tunes also.

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1. Vide *Historical Method in Relation to Indian Histories* (1956), p. 11.

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The mystic philosopher Schopenhauer was of the same opinion. He says regarding the celestial beauty of music that music is 'the metaphysical to everything physical in the world, and the thing-in-itself to every phenomenon ; it expresses in a perfectly universal language, in a homogenious material, more tones, and with the greatest determinateness and truth, the inner nature, thing-in-itself of the world'. Plato and Aristotle call music an 'emotional import', which is no other than the imitation or the idealization of reality. Kant sums up in his *Critique of Judgment* that music is the highest of arts, as it plays with sensation, i.e. emotion. Hence the history of music constitutes an artistic language of the creative annals of music which is an emotional aspect of Nature. In short, both aesthetic and philosophic conceptions play important roles in the domain of the history of music, though its stuff is made of the detailed chronological order of realistic events and tales of music of different ages.

The history of music is closely associated with human society, and so it does not ignore the imaginative and creative faculty of man. It has rather a deep regard for the human society. Therefore the sociological factors which are behind the creation of music, can neither be neglected nor ignored, as it is really a product of the intelligence and creative faculty of the human society. Theodore M. Finney is of opinion that

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music emerged into the historic era as a social art and consequently its history cannot be written without mentioning its social uses. 'The types of music may vary immensely, but the forms of its use, the purposes, for which any culture retains music as a part of its social heritage, remain almost the same'.

In truth, music is closely connected with human life from the very beginning of creation. Every nation or society made music their means to progress and prosperity, in social, political, cultural, religious and spiritual spheres of life. In the remote days, all rites and ceremonies were connected with the elements of music. T. C. Berkeley is of opinion that in primitive cultures, especially songs of religious or magical character, outnumber secular class of songs such as lullabies, work songs, love songs, game and drinking songs, etc., for not only must the gods be served and placated as a part of religious ritual, but there are hundreds of other beings whose impact on everyday life, on farming, hunting, marriage, burial, war, and travel, for instance, must also be dealt with. In ancient Greece, Mesopotamia, Sumer, Ur, Chaldia, and other Near East and Western countries, and ancient and greater India, music formed an integral and indespensible part of the life of the people. In Bengal too, men and women adopted music in all aspects of their everyday life, from childhood to old age. In folk-entertainments and

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ceremonies, boys and girls perform everything to the accompaniment of music and dance. Their different domestic and religious functions are, in truth, saturated with different types of music. The popular ballads and folk-songs are like narrative accounts of the spontaneous enjoyment of existence and of domestic events of the peoples of East and West Bengal. The peasant songs of the paddy-fields, the seasonal songs of the children, the descriptive 'pictorial' songs of the expert *Patuās*, the mystic songs of the *Sahajiyās* and *Bāuls*, the river-songs (*bhātiyālis*) of the boatmen, the magic chants of the snake-charmers, the marriage and hunting tunes of the *Sāntāls*, are the vividly realistic expressions of dynamic life of Bengal. The different musical instruments of folk-music, like *ekatāra*, *dotāra*, *sārindā*, *gopīyantra*, *vanśī* or bamboo flute, *tiprā*, *mādala*, *dholaka*, *khamaka*, *ānandalaharī*, *khanjanī*, *karatāla*, etc. bear testimony to the fact of the cultural taste and outlook of the peoples of Bengal. Besides, every country of India and outside India produced music of their own, which prove undoubtedly the dynamic aspect of the human society.

The history of Indian music should, therefore, be an authentic record of development of music of the Indian people. It has extended itself from the antique pre-historic age to the present time. It changed and evolved as inevitable for

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the shifting phases or changing circumstances of the human society. Regarding the evolutional nature of the art of music, Cecil Gray says, in his *The History of Music* : 'In no art, science, or other departments of human activity, has the doctrine of evolution been so enthusiastically welcomed, so eagerly adopted, and so whole-heartedly endorsed, as in music. Indeed, the whole history of the art has almost invariably been conceived and represented as a single, orderly, and undeviating line of progress from the simplest and most primitive beginnings upto the complexities of modern practice ; and the account of this gradual process of development, which is generally to be met with in musical histories, reads exactly like the account given in scientific text-books of the origin and evolution of life from the amoeba'. The gradual evolutionary process of Indian music is really a key to the whole range of musical production that flowed from the imaginative conception of the Indian people. Many old treatises and stone carvings are extant to record and commemorate the great art of India. These should be studied in right perspective and spirit to gather the data on music : their different types and patterns, their presentation and appreciation in different ages. That will stir our emotional depths and uplift the level of consciousness. We are still at the spade-work stage, and so we shall have to carry on the research patiently and indefatigably.

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Now, it may be asked what is the utility of the study of the development of music and what is the importance of maintaining a historical outlook in the practical field of music. It is a fact that man has an aspiring and progressing soul, and he always marches towards the ultimate goal of success, keeping his eyes fixed on the golden ideals of India. He requires a guide—a faithful guide, to lead him on the path of investigation into the forgotten chapters of music, to collect and preserve the materials, strewn here and there, for acquiring knowledge and making use of them. But the authors of the history of music should be unbiased and truth-seeking in their outlook. They should record the facts of development of music which should be properly interpreted to unfold their real purpose and intrinsic significance. We fully agree with Prof. Ogden while he says that 'in the history of art as much as in any other branch of historical research, facts are meaningless until interpreted, and the function of the musical historian is, or should be, as different from that of the period-specialist as the function of the philosopher is from that of the chemists, physicists, biologists, anthropologists, and other scientists who provide him with his material. His concern, in short, is not with the discovery of facts, but with their interpretation, and the revelation of their intrinsic value and significance'. In the introduc-

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tion to his history of music, Cecil Gray subscribes also to the same view. He says: 'But while it is unquestionably a study of the greatest interest and profit to the musician to trace the gradual development of his artistic language, seeing how each period and each composer have played their respective parts in shaping, modifying, extending, and perfecting the instrument at his disposal, rendering it more plastic and more readily responsive to every subtle inflection of his thought, it does not constitute the history of an expressive art such as music any more than a philological study of language could pass for a history of literature, or a description of a man's physiological development for a biography'. Some are of opinion that the history of music being a collection of raw materials of music, has no value in the field of practice. To this it can be said that practice is only an active or applied form of theory, and practice is always preceded by theory. In music, a historical outlook is necessary to help the artists and lovers of music to get a clear vision of the entire field of music of all ages. It does not only furnish us with all the raw materials of music of our own, but well equips us with the knowledge of music of the other countries also.

Human taste and temperament, along with his outlook, change in different ages. They change owing to different geographical boundaries,

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climatic conditions, traditions, special tastes and social temperament as also for other reasons, and that is why Indian music has become more or less *different* from the music of the Western countries. Maintaining this difference, Alfred Einstein says in his *A Short History of Music* : 'The musical culture of the Near East is quite different from what may be called in a particular sense 'Oriental', that of India and Arabia and Persia. In India, the normal seven-note octave is the basis of all melody, but it becomes transformed and overgrown by a whole host of intervals employed for the sake of ornament. The Arabic-Persian system is even further removed from ours ; it is built up of small units of third of a note originally seventeen and later twenty-four to the octave and shows the influence of Greek musical theory'. But it should be noticed that though music of different coutries differ in their systems, method of presentation, patterns and notations, yet amidst all the diversities there is a unity of a common fundamental psychic content. In the antique Vedic age, the chanters and common people were content with purely sacred hymnal type of the *sāmans* or *sāmagānas*, which were possessed of different numbers of notes, registers, metres and literary compositions (*sāhitya*). In the beginning of the classical period (600 B.C.), *sāmans* were replaced by the *gāndharva* type of music, which evolved in connection with drama. The

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gāndharva music was a kind of stage-song or *nātya-dharmī-gīti*, possessed of *svara*, *tāla*, and *pada*. Similar changes took place in the music of the ancient Greeks. The historian Theodore M. Fenny says that music was an integral part of the drama, which bulked so large in the life of the Greek city-state. Music was a part, along with dancing, of the Greek religious ceremonies. The epics of Homer or the Odes of Pindar were sung rather than recited.

The dawn of the Christian era brought with it a new awakening in the field of Indian music. In the second century A.D. the form and system of music were more systematic with a scientific outlook in the hand of Muni Bharata of the *Nātyaśāstra*. The genuine type of *rāga* came into being, with ten determining characteristics (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) and psychological value, with the new names of *jātirāga* and *grāmarāga*. There came again a new change in the third-seventh century A.D., when Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Durgāśakti, Mataṅga and others began to systematize the aboriginal and regional (*deśī*) types of tunes in the high-way classical music. This can be said to be an age of reformation, as the stereotyped puritanism was replaced by liberalism. The non-Aryan tunes gradually got into the Aryan stock and the result was that the volume and vital force of Indian music grew more deep and sensitive. Some of the foreign tunes were absorbed into the Aryan music. Hundreds and thousands of *rāgas* evolved

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with their new and novel names and forms. The ancient *grāmas* (scales) were gradually replaced by the *mūrcchanās* (series of upward and downward notes). Variations were found in the number of notes, as some 'displaced' (*komala*) notes appeared by the side of the sharp ones. This had also happened to the Western music, during the transition from Greek to Christian. The changes took place in the period of about six hundred years, from the time of Aristoxemus until Christianity became the Roman state religion early in the fourth century A.D. The Ptolemic system, having the Dorian scale as a model, was changed by divers elements from Palestine, Greece, Rome, and Alexandria. The Georgian chant, plain song, plain chant, psalm-singing, Ambrosian metrical hymns, etc. were gradually changed in the beginning of the age of polyphony in 850-1050 A.D. It may be known as a revolutionary action against the old type of music, in the domain of the Western music.

From the historical accounts, placed by Curts Sachs in his *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World* we know that music underwent many changes even before the Christian era. He says that the oldest records of organized and systamatized music were Sumerian and Egyptian of 3000 B.C.[2] That musical life

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2. 'The oldest records of organized and systematized music are Sumerian and Egyptian. Sumerian texts,

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was also changed in the days of David Solomon in 1000 B.C. and many foreign instruments appeared all on a sudden, just as they had appeared in Egypt after 1500 B.C. and these were : harps, zithers, oboes, cymbals, sistra,[3] etc. Again in the eighteenth century B.C. when Egypt had conquered the southwest of Asia, the subjugated kings had sent tributes of dancing and singing girls with their strange instruments and consequently Egyptian music underwent again some decisive change, and nearly all the ancient instruments were discarded. This shows that before the beginning of the age of polyphony in 850-1050 A.D. music of the Western world underwent several changes.

In the middle of the eighteenth century A.D. there came a radical change upon the forms and groupings of the notes (*vargīkaraṇa*), of the *rāgas* in Indian music. The total bases (*svarasthāna*), in relation to the microtones (*śruti*), were also altered for some unknown cause. The groupings of upward and downward notes or *mūrcchanās*, as generators or determining factors

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written in the third millenium B.C. frequently speak of ecclesiastic music ; in the great temple of Ningiru at Lagash, a special officer was responsible for the choir, and another for the training of several classes of singers and players, both male and female. The guilds of temple singers at least became a learned community***.'—vide *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World* (1944), pp. 58-59.

3. Ibid, p. 59.

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of the *rāgas*, had already appeared with a new nomenclature of *mela* or *thāta* or *melakartā*, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. The visual pictures (*rāgamūrti*), with their poetical descriptions and contemplative compositions (*dhyāna-mantra*), were already introduced, for better appreciation and intuitive perception of the *rāgas*, from the fifteenth-sixteenth century. But gradually that psychological motive was changed, for want of aesthetic sense and proper historical outlook.

There came also a renaissance, in the form of radical change during the period 1585-1610, in the domain of Western music. By the year 1600 A.D. the renaissance had reached and passed its high pitch. Theodore M. Finney reminds us : 'The years between 1585 and 1610 saw the unfolding of one of the most important episodes in the whole of history of music, because it furnished modern musical art with materials and methods hereto lacking'.

But that was not exactly the same case with Indian music. Because, though the Indian method of classification of the *rāgas* was changed from the *rāga-rāginī-putra-vargīkaraṇa* into *janya-janaka* or genus-species (cause-effect) method, and most of the *rāgas* appeared with their new tonal forms, yet their real motive and spirit-behind did not entirely change. Again, from the study of the history of India it is found that Indian music has a tradition behind it and that tradition is no other than the preservation of the genuine

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culture and method of practice (*gharāṇā*) of music, which are handed down from generation to generation or from the teacher to the student (*guru-śiṣya-sampradāya*).

Many are of opinion that our present system of North Indian music is much indebted to the Muhammadan period, because it produced many creative exponents, like Baiju Bāoran, Nāyaka Gopāla, Āmir Khusrau, Rājāh Mān, Mirā Bāi, Bābā Rāmdāsa, Surdāsa, Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī, Miāṅ Tānsen, and his worthy predecessors. Captain Day is of opinion that the most flourishing age of Indian music was the period of the native princes, a little before the Muhammadan conquest. With the advent of the Muhammadans its decline commenced. Indeed it is wonderful that it survived at all. Such is also the decision of Capt. Willards, when he says that with the progress of the theory of music arrested, its decline was speedy, although the practice, which contributed to the entertainment of the princes and nobles, continued until the time of Mohammed Shāh of Delhi, after whose reign, history of music is pregnant with facts replete with dismal scenes. But all these opinions should be reviewed with care and justice.

The Gwalior School, founded by Rājāh Mān Tunwār, really revived the culture of the *dhruvapada* type of *nibaddha prabandha* music, that was current even before the time of Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) of the *Saṅgīta-*

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Ratnākara. It reached its climax during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1542-1605 A.D.). The *kāwāl* and *kheyāl* types of music had already got their foothold in the soil of India. Many of the noted Muhammadan and Hindu Ustāds were patronized by the Nawābs and Hindu chiefs. But during the time of Shāh Ālam II (eighteenth century A.D.), the last titular Moghul Emperor of Delhi, the glorious musical tradition of the Delhi Sultanate came to an end, and all the Muslim and Hindu Ustāds of Delhi, Agra and adjacent places were dispersed all over Northern India. The noted musicians, who belonged mostly to the Tānsen school, began to seek refuge in different Durbārs of Muslim Nawābs and Hindu kings and Zemindars of Rajputana, Oudh, Betiya, Rewa, Gwalior, Bengal and other places. This incident was in a sense a blessing for India, as it helped the propagation of classical music outside the boundaries of Delhi and Agra. At present classical type of both Northern and Southern schools of music are cultured widely in their true perspectives in Indian and Muslim countries. The services of the All India Radio undoubtedly deserve credit for the culture of music. The folk and other regional music have already occupied unique positions and got appreciation in different countries of India and Pakistan. The future of Indian music is more brilliant and hopeful, and it will surely bring a permanent solace of peace and love

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not only to the people of India, but also to other nations of the world. The development and novel creations of the types and patterns of music are the signs of hope and life, and they will supply fresh materials for the new annals of history of Indian music.

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CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS INDIAN MUSIC

THE music that evolved in India and imbibed the spirit and atmosphere of spiritual India, is known as Indian Music. It possesses a synthetic mood and special character of its own, and so it differs from music of other countries. Indian music has off and on been influenced by foreign music and culture, but yet it has preserved its own quality and nature. It has rather embraced all the types and patterns of music of other countries and has absorbed them with a quite new and unifying effect.

Now, what do we mean by music? The English word music is a derivative from French word 'muse'. In Sanskrit it is called '*gāna*', '*gīti*' or '*saṅgīta*'. It is a combination of sweet sounds that pleases and soothes the minds of living beings. It originates in the succession of tones that produce agreeable and pleasing sensations. It is, in truth, the man's expression of deeper converse with the innermost spirit, through the medium of tones and tunes. It is the language of living being's deeper soul. It is quite different from the speech sound or the speaking language. The musical sound is possessed of sweet tune, impregnated with divine lustre (*lāvaṇya*), aesthetic sentiment and mood (*rasa*

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and bhāva). This *lāvanya* may be compared to the lustre of a jewel or crystal. It is also found in the face of a man or woman, which looks sweet and loving. It can be said to be a symbol that represents the inner essence of man and animal.

The melodic form (*rāga*) is the soul of music. Now what do we mean by a *rāga*? A *rāga* is a psycho-material object, as it is an objective expression of the subjective feeling of the mind. It is first designed ideally in the mind and then projected outside in material tonal form. And so, in the process of the construction of a *rāga*, both mind and matter act together.

From the idealistic point of view, a *rāga* is a mind construction and its outward expression is an image of the subjective ideal. Some are of opinion that a succession of notes that designs the melodic form, is quite independent of the mind and it suggests an idea of the melodic patterns in the mind. But the suggestions, says Swāmī Abhedānanda, come through the eyes, through the ears, and through other organs. Those suggestions are not in the state of consciousness at first. They are merely the molecular changes i.e., changes of the molecules and the atoms of the nervous systems and of the brain. And then come the ideas of sensation. At the root they are nothing but motions. The ideas of motion are the elements, out of which the mind substance is built. Elsewhere the Swāmī says again :

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'Sensations or the vibrations of the external objects which come through the nerves are nothing but suggestions and these suggestions are carried by these nerves to the brain. But the hemispheres of the brain act from considerations, that is, expectations of sensations which will be felt in one way or another.*** These hemispheres are regarded as the seats of emotions, instincts and intelligence which do not exist in animals without hemispheres of the brain'. Modern psychologists explain everything by reflex action of the brain. When we construct a structure of a melody or *rāga*, a reflection of tonal succession or arrangement fleets in the mind in a thought form like an image which produces an impression in the brain. The impression of the *rāga* is again translated into a kind of feeling, and immediately the mind reacts, and through the reflex activities we project the idea of the *rāga* outside in material form which is not a mechanical process, but is conducted and governed by the intelligence that shines behind the mind. The sensation of the *rāga* comes in the form of vibrations or currents of stimuli and it suggests or inspires the artists to create music i.e. *rāga*. Therefore the will-to-create is the cause of manifestation of the *rāga*, and the subjective form manifests as the objective one.

The nature of a *rāga* is determined by the melodic movement or *varṇa*, which helps to

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create pleasing and soothing sensations. A *rāga* is known by its constituent notes or essentials, like sonant (*aṁśa* or *vādī*), consonant (*samvādī*), dissonant (*anuvādī*), initial (*graha*), final (*nyāsa*), etc. These are known as determining characteristics. A *rāga* is sustained and animated by its inherent emotional sentiments and moods of the microtones, which constitute the forms of the tones and tonal successions.

Nārada (first century A.D.) says in his *Śikṣā* that both *vaidika sāmagāna* and *laukika* (*deśī*) classical types of music are possessed of ten qualities (*guṇas*), and music manifests with them in different forms and ways. Bhattaśobhākara comments : '*laukikaṃ ca vaidikaṃ ca gānaṃ daśa--guṇa-yuktaṃ tu vaidikaṃ kāryamityuktaṃ*'.[1] These qualities (*guṇas*) enrich and make manifest the *rāgas* and subsequently the songs or *gītis*. The ancient musicologists formulate these qualities as,

(a) *Raktaṃ* : An absorbing interest or attraction of men and animals for or towards the melody of the song, produced by the combination of lute (*Veeṇā*) and flute (*Veṇu*). The combination imparts also the harmonic relations between the successive notes, and thus helps to evolve the melodic form, with pleasing and soothing sensations. The utility of the quality of *raktaṃ* is to

1. लौकिकं च वैदिकं च गानं दशगुणयुक्तम् तु वैदिकं कार्यमित्युक्तम् ।

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attract the minds of men and animals and to create concentrated attention. The lute and the flute are the most ancient musical instruments and in their harmonic sounds or tunes abides the divine absorbing and enchanting power.

(b) *Pūrṇa* : Nārada of the *Śikṣā* says that the distinct manifestation or presentation of metres (*chanda*), stanzas (*pada*) and letters (*akṣara*) helps to the complete formation of tones and microtones. The latter musicologists are of opinion that full play of the succession of notes in the bass, the medium and the high is known as *pūrṇa*

(c) *Alaṁkṛta* : It is an easy process of manifesting the tonal sound in the bass and the high octaves. It may be said to be the requisite embellishment.

(d) *Prasanna* : Easy of recognition.

(e) *Vykta :* Expression of the stanzas (*pada*), fully equipped with music-parts (*dhātu*), words (*kathā*), metres (*chanda*), notes (*svara*) and melodies (*rāga*). The commentator Bhattaśobhākara says that it is essential for the knowledge or perception of different numbers (*saṁkhyā*) and qualities (*guṇa*).

(f) *Vikṛṣta* (or *Vikruṣta*) : Distinct manifestation or clear expression of the words and sentences. Sometimes it means the clear use of notes of high pitch.

(g) *Ślakṣṇa* : It is the fine and subtle manifesta-

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tion of notes in different tempi. It is easily recognizable in the slow (*vilamvita*) tempo.

(h) *Sama* : Proper settings of the four melodic movements or *varṇas* to rhythm and tempo.

(i) *Sukumāra* : Easy and graceful manifestation or expression of notes in different octaves (*saptakas*), bass, medium and high.

(j) *Mādhuryya* : Natural, graceful and sweet expression of stanzas (*pada*), letters (*akṣara*) and notes (*svara*). It is known as the graceful shining lustre i.e. *lāvaṇya* or *lālitya*. It is a kind of quality (*guṇa*) of an object. As for example, a precious stone possesses a shining lustre of its own, and it is the '*lāvaṇya*' of the stone. As an intelligent face of a man is marked by a glow, so the sweet and orderly arranged rhythmic pattern of the notes of a *rāga* creates an inspiring sensation, which is known as '*lāvāṇya*' or lustre.[2]

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2. व्यक्तं पूर्णं प्रसन्नं च सुकुमारमलंकृतम् ।
समं सुरक्तं श्लक्ष्णं च विकृष्टं मधुरं तथा ॥
दशैते सुगुणा गीते तत्र व्यक्तं स्फुटैः स्वरैः ।
प्रकृतिप्रत्ययैर्योक्तं छन्दोरागपदैः स्वरैः ॥
पूर्णं पूर्णाङ्गगमकं प्रसन्नं प्रकटार्थकम् ।
सुकुमारं कण्ठभवं विस्थानोत्थमलंकृतम् ॥
समवर्णलयस्थानं समसित्यभिधीयते ।
सुरक्तं वल्लकीवंश-कण्ठध्वन्यैकतायुतम् ॥
नीचोच्चद्रुतमध्यादौ श्लक्ष्णत्वं श्लक्ष्णमुच्यते ।
उच्चैरुच्चारणादुक्तं विकृष्टं भरतादिभिः ॥
मधुरं धुर्यलावण्यपूर्णं जनमनोहरम् ।

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।२७४-२७८

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Indian music is always recognized through the presentation of the tonal form of a *rāga* and it tries to present the *rāga* in harmony with words, tune, rhythm, tempo and aesthetic sentiments and moods. So a *rāga* does never appear as a bare outline or skeleton of the tonal arrangements, but it manifests itself as living and dynamic.

The basic element of music is sound, which is manifested in the from of tones and microtones. And so the Indian psychologists and philosophers say that the *psyche* or soul of music is made up of sound with emotions. The *nāda* or causal sound is the basis or ground of music, and upon this primal ground all the phenomena of Indian music are built. The notes originate from the vibrations that evolve from the vital air or *prāṇa-vāyu*. The seven notes, *ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pañcama, dhaivata* and *niṣāda* evolve out of the vital air, which comes in contact with the different internal parts of the body. It has been described in the *Māndukīśikṣā* :

Kaṇṭhaduttiṣṭhate ṣaḍja-ṛṣabhaḥ śirasastathā /
Nāsikāyāstu gāndhāra uraso madhyamastathā //
Uraḥ śirobhyāṃ kaṇṭhacca pañcamaḥ svara ucyate /
Dhaivataśca lalātādvai niṣādaḥ sarvarūpavān //[3]

In the *Nāradīśikṣā*, *rakta* has been mentioned instead of *vyakta*.

3. कण्ठादुत्तिष्ठते षड्ज-ऋषभः शिरसस्तथा ।
नासिकायास्तु गान्धारः उरसो मध्यमस्तथा ॥

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That is, the note *ṣadja* is born when the vital air is in friction with throat (*kaṇṭha*) ; *ṛṣabha* emanates from the seat of the head (*śira* i.e. mouth) ; *gāndhāra* from the nose ; etc. But the description of the *Nāradīśikṣā* is more rational and tenable. Nārada describes that when the vital air (*prāṇa-vāyu*), rising upwards from the navel base, gets in contact with the junctions of the canal of the throat, it produces sounds of different pitches and they are *ṣadja*, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra* etc.[4] It is a fact that any kind of sound originates from the friction of two or more things. According to Yoga and Tantra philosophies, the primal will of all living beings resides in the navel base or *mūlādhāra*. That is known as the

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उरः शिरोभ्यां कण्ठाच्च पञ्चमः स्वर उच्यते ।
धैवतस्य ललाटाद्वै निषादः सर्वतोमुखात् ॥

—माण्डुकीशिक्षा

4. In the *Nāradīśikṣā* (7-12), Nārada describes :

नाभ्यां कण्ठमूरस्तालुजिह्वादन्तांश्च संश्रितः ।
षड्भिः सञ्जायते यस्मात् तस्मात् षड्ज इति स्मृतः ॥
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेः कण्ठशीर्षसमाहतः ।
नर्दत्यृषभवद् यस्मात् तस्मादृषभ उच्यते ॥
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेः कण्ठशीर्षसमाहतः ।
नासागन्धावहः पुष्टो गान्धारस्तेन हेतुना ॥
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेरुरोहृदिसमाहतः ।
नाभिं प्राप्तो महानादो मध्यमत्वं समश्नुते ॥
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेरुरोहृत्कण्ठशिरोहतः ।
पञ्चस्थानोत्थितस्यास्य पञ्चमत्वं विधीयते ॥
धैवतं च निषादं च वर्जयित्वा स्वरत्रयम् ।
शेषात् पञ्चस्वरांश्चान्यान् पञ्चस्थानोत्थितान् विदुः ॥

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Kāmakalā or *Kuṇḍalinī*. It is recognized by the Sāṅkhya and Vedānta as the cosmic will or primordial Prakṛti. The Tantra says that the divine will remains as static and is figuratively described as the sleeping and coiled serpent. The serpent is a symbol of energy. When there originates a will-to-speak or will-to-sing, the vital air intensifies the volume of the will and makes it dynamic. It can be said that the sleeping serpent, *Kuṇḍalinī* awakens and rises upwards through the canal or passage that passes from the navel base to the throat or mouth. Śāraṅgadeva describes it as the indescribable unmanifested will which passes through different plexes or *cakras*, in the spinal column and is manifested in the base of the tongue. The plexes or *cakras* are the levels or different grades of consciousness and when the unmanifested will-to-speak or will-to-sing manifests and rises upwards with the vital power, it gets different sensations or experiences in the levels. The will is the energy and it manifests itself as material sounds of speech and song and takes the forms of words and music.

The succession of seven notes forms the basic structure of music. Even five or six notes can construct a form of melody which is the soul of music. The notes are of two kinds, placed (*śuddha*) and displaced (flat or chromatic i.e. *komala*). The displaced or flat notes are so called because of the

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shifting positions of the seminotes of the placed (*śuddha*) notes. In the pre-Christian era, we do not find the use of any subtle or seminotes. They evolved or were rather recognized in the beginning of the Christian era. The seminotes or microtones are the subtle notes or tones. They are known as *śrutis*, and Nārada (first century A.D.) first uses these *śrutis* in his *Nāradīśikṣā*. He says,

Dīptāyatā-karuṇānāṃ mṛdu-madhyamayostathā /
śrutīnāṃ yo'viśeṣajño na sa ācārya ucyate //[5]

Nārada admits only five microtones, which were known or used as the genus or *jāti* in the time of Bharata (second century A.D.) of the *Nātyaśāstra*. Regarding the displaced or chromatic (*komala*) notes, Nārada describes *antara* (*gāndhāra*) and *kākalī* (*niṣāda*) : '*antaraḥ svara-saṁyukta kākalīryatra dṛśyate*'.[6] Bharata follows him and says : '*svara-sādhāraṇaṃ kākalī-antara-svarau*'.[7] Bharata discovers twenty-

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5. दीप्तायता-करुणानां मृदुमध्यमयोस्तथा ।
श्रुतीनां योऽविशेषज्ञो न स आचार्य उच्यते ॥

6. अन्तरः स्वरसंयुक्त काकलीर्यत्र दृश्यते ।

7. Bharata says : स्वरसाधारणं काकल्यन्तरस्वरौ'। Kallināth comments : 'हि यस्मात् कारणात् काकली विकृतचतुःश्रुतिको निषादः षड्जनिषादयोः शुद्धयोः साधारणो भवेत्तदुभयश्रुतिसम्बन्धित्वेन, अतः कारणात्तस्य काकलिनो यत् साधारणं तत् साधारणं विदुः ।

Bharata says : (*a*) साधारणं नामान्तरस्वरता । कस्मात् ? द्वयोरन्तरस्थं तत् साधारणम् ।

(*b*) काकलीसंज्ञो निषादो, न षड्जः । द्वाभ्यामन्तरस्वरत्वात् साधारणं प्रतिपद्यते । एवं गान्धारोऽप्यन्तरस्वरसंज्ञः, गान्धारो न मध्यमः । तयोरन्तस्वरत्वात् । * * कलत्वात् काकली, कृष्टत्वाद्वा, अतिसौक्ष्म्यत्वाद्वा, अथवा काक्षित्वात् उभय सम्बन्धत्वात् काकलीसंज्ञा ।

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two microtones, based upon the five causal microtones or genera (*jātis*) of Nārada. He devises the twenty-two microtones on the length of the wires of two same-sized lutes or Veeṇās, *cala* and *acala* or *dhruva*, and determines four subtle and audible microtonal units that constitute the stuff of the note, *ṣaḍja*. He places the note *ṣaḍja* on the fourth unit. He successfully makes the seventh microtone as the seat or base of the note, *ṛṣabha*, the ninth one, the basis of *gāndhāra*, the thirteenth one, the base of *madhyama*, the seventeenth one, the seat of *pañcama*, the twentieth one, the seat of *dhaivata* and the twenty-second one as the base of the note, *niṣāda*. But this division and allotment of the microtonal bases of the seven (*laukika* or *deśī*) notes were however altered in the nineteenth century and it was made perhaps by a group of Western scholars, like Captain Williard, William Jones and others. It is said that they followed the changed method of the then masters or Ustāds, Hindu and Muslim. Mohammad Rezzā of Patna had also supported this radical change, as he himself altered the current scheme of the classification of the *rāgas*. Some are of opinion that Sir William Jones was the first to change the ancient scheme of the distribution of the microtones. The leading musicians and musicologists of Bengal, Sir S. M. Tagore, Kṣetra Mohana Goswāmī and others had also accepted the newly moulded or modified system

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of the division of microtones and their bases. The modified scheme has been accepted for the changing taste and temperament of the progressive society, but it should be further tested with a rational outlook.

Regarding the new changes in the allotment of the microtones and their definite seats or bases, Kṣetra Mohana Goswāmī, a noted musician and musicologist of Bengal mentions in his celebrated Bengali work, *Saṅgītasāra* that the notes, possessed of audible minute seminotes, were placed on the last microtonal bases by the ancient experts. But a close examination will show, he says, that there is less difference of space between *ṣaḍja* and *ṛṣabha* than between the notes, *niṣāda* and *ṣaḍja*. The frets of a lute (*Veeṇā*) also prove this fact. They show that the space or distance between the notes, *ṣaḍja* and *ṛṣabha* is double the space or distance between the notes, *niṣāda* and *ṣaḍja*. Perhaps for this reason, the modern lute players (*veeṇkāras*) have determined the seats of the notes (*svarasthānaṣ*) on their last units of microtones.

It has already been said that during the time of Nārada of the *Śikṣā* (first century A.D.) only two displaced or flat notes were used in the Indian system of music, both in north and south, and they were *antara-gāndhāra* and *kākalī-niṣāda*. Bharata also adopted this method, and the result was that the total number of notes, placed (*śuddha*) and displaced (*komala*) was fixed

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at nine. This method was followed upto the eleventh-twelveth century A.D., and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the number of the displaced notes was increased to twelve. It was believed so long that the basic note, *ṣaḍja* and the fifth, *pañcama* were unchangeable (*avikṛta*) ones. But during Śāraṅgadeva's time (early thirteenth century), the two notes, *ṣaḍja* and *pañcama* were considered as changing. Śāraṅgadeva says that the numbers of unchangeable (*śuddha*) notes are usually seven, but for the shifting positions of the microtones, twelve displaced or flat notes evolved. He says :

Cyuto'cyuto dvidhā ṣaḍjo dvi-śrutir-vikṛto bhavet /
Sādhāraṇe kākalītve niṣādasya ca dṛśyate //

* * * *

Prāpnoti vikṛtau bhedau dvāviti dvādaśa smṛtāḥ //[8]

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8. च्युतोऽच्युतो द्विधा षड्जो द्विश्रुतिर्विकृतो भवेत्
साधारणे काकलीत्वे निषादस्य च दृश्यते ॥
साधारणे श्रुतिं षाड्जीमृषभः संश्रितो यदा ।
चतुःश्रुतित्वमायाति तदैको विकृतो भवेत् ॥
साधारणे द्विश्रुतिः स्यादन्तरत्वे चतुःश्रुतिः ।
गान्धार इति तज्ज्ञेदौ द्वौ निःशङ्केन कीर्तितौ ॥
मध्यमः षड्जवद्द्वेधाऽन्तरसाधारणाश्रयात् ।
पञ्चमो मध्यमग्रामे विश्रुतिः कैशिके पुनः ॥
मध्यमस्य श्रुतिं प्राप्य चतुःश्रुतिरिति द्विधा ।
धैवतो मध्यमग्रामे विकृतः स्याच्चतुःश्रुतिः ॥
कैशिके काकलीत्वे च निषादस्त्रि-चतुःश्रुतिः ।
प्राप्नोति विकृतौ भेदौ द्वाविति द्वादश स्मृताः ॥

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर १।३।४०-४५

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Therefore, according to Śāraṅgadeva, the numbers of the microtones are 7 (*śuddha*) + 12 (*vikṛta*) = 19. In the middle of the sixteenth century (1550 A.D.), Paṇdit Rāmāmatya accepted only seven displaced notes and according to him, the total numbers of notes are 7+7=14. He says : (a) '*vikṛtaścāpi saptaivetyevaṃ sarve caturdaśaḥ*'[9] (2.33) (b) '*caturdaśa svara hyete rāge rūpe bhavantymī*'[10] (2.65). In the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the time of Paṇdit Somanāth (1909 A.D.), the number of the displaced note were also seven and they were known as : '*mṛdu-sa-sādhāraṇa-ga-antara-ga-mṛdu--ma-mṛdu-pa-kaiśika-ni-kākali-ni*'. But during the time of Veṅkatamakhi (1620 A.D.) the number of the displaced notes was reduced to five only and he says : '*svarāḥ pañcaiva vikṛtā iti siddhāntitaṃ mayā*'. So it is found that the system of twelve notes (placed or *śuddha* 7+ displaced or *komala* 5=12) was in vogue in the sixteenth-seventeenth century and they are still followed in the modern system of Hindusthāni music.

Let us determine the utility and importance of the microtones and their divisions ? The microtones are the minute audible tones (*svaras*) and they really determine the definite seats or bases of the tones, their nature of

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9. विकृताश्चापि सप्तैवेत्येवं सर्वे चतुर्दश: । (२।३३)
10. चतुर्दश स्वरा ह्येते रागे-रूपे भवन्त्यमी । (२।६५)

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manifestation, their ways of constructing the modes and melodies and even their scales. Some are of opinion that they are useless in the present systems of music, as it is not possible to distinctly manifest them in vocal music, though they are useful in the instrumental music to some extent. But that view is not correct, because the microtonal experience or sensation is essential for the determination of the tonal bases (*svarasthāna*) and consequently the scales and the aesthetic qualities of the *rāgas*. The scale (*mela*, *melakartā* or *thāta*) is the base as well as the fountain-head of various types of melodies. The scales are the melodies or *rāgas* in themselves, and yet they are known as the sources of different *rāgas*. In ancient times, the scales were in the form of the *grāmas* and *grāmarāgas*. Afterwards they were replaced by the *mūrcchanās* or the series of seven ascending notes. In fact, the *mūrcchanās* had their origin in the *grāmas*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we also find the use of the *murcchanās* in the *gānas* i.e. *jātirāgagānas*, but the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has not mentioned whether the *jātirāgas* evolved from the *murcchanās*, rather it is understood from the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that the *jātirāgas* originated from the *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra*, and following this, Bharata (second century A.D.) also mentions that the pure and mixed (*śuddha* and *vikṛta jātis* or *jātirāgas* evolved from the two current *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*.

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He has not mentioned the name of the *gāndhāragrāma*, because it was obsolete in his time. However, the use of the *murcchanās* as the origin (*janaka*) of the formalized regional tunes or *deśī-rāgas* was current upto the fourteenth-fifteenth century A.D.

What is the psychological basis of the emotional sentiments and moods of ths *rāgas*, in relation to their constituent parts, microtones? It has already been said that in the *Nāradī śikṣā* (first century A.D.) we first come across the word '*śruti*,' which determined the forms and intrinsic nature of the *grāmarāgas*, mentioned by Nārada and the later *deśī rāgagītis* and *rāgas*. Nārada says that the persons, who are not acquainted with the microtones and their value, are not worthy of being regarded as experienced teachers: '*śrutināṁ yo'viśeṣajño na sa ācārya uchyate*'. The microtones, as described by Nārada of the *Śikṣā*, were given significant names and imbued with special meaning and value. The microtones, as devised by Bharata of the *Nāṭyśāstra* were twenty-two in number and they were allotted in the seven notes as: *ṣaḍja* 4+*ṛṣabha* 3+*gāndhāra* 2+*madhyama* 4+*pañcama* 4+ *dhaivata* 3+*niṣāda* 2=22. It has also been mentioned before that these twenty-two microtones of Bharata were designed after the 5 microtones of Nārada, and in the time of Bharata these series of microtnes were known as the *genus-species* relation or *janya-janaka-*

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samvandha. Now to make the *genus-species*, or *jāti-vyakti* or *jāti-śruti* scheme of the seven notes explicit, the following chart will be helpful.

Nos.	Notes	Serial Nos.	Microtones as determined by Bharata	Microtones as determined by Nārada	Notes, numbers contained
1		1	tivrā	dīptā	
		2	kumudvati	āyatā	
		3	mandra[1]	mṛdu	
	Ṣaḍja ...	4	Candovati	madhyā ...	4
		5	dayāvatī	karuṇā	
		6	ranjani	madhyā	
2	Ṛṣabha ...	7	raktikā	mṛdu ...	3
		8	raudrī	dīptā	
3	Gāndhāra ...	9	krodhā	āyatā ...	2
		10	vajrikā	dīptā	
		11	prasāriṇi	āyatā	
		12	prīti	mṛdu	
4	Madhyama ...	13	mārjani	madhyā ...	4
		14	kṣiti	mṛdu	
		15	raktikā[2]	madhyā	
		16	sandipani	āyatā	
5	Pañcama ...	17	ālāpini	karuṇā ...	4
		18	madanti	karuṇā	
		19	rohini	āyatā	
6	Dhaivata ...	20	ramyā	madhyā ...	3
		21	ugrā	dīptā	
7	Niṣāda ...	22	kṣobhiṇi	āyatā ...	2

According to Bharata, the seats or bases (*svarasthānas*) of the seven notes are placed on the last microtonal units and this process seems to be rational and scientific. The five microtones (afterwards *jātis* or *janakas*), as has been said before contain some specific and inherent emotional qualities and they are: firmness and

1. Or *mandā*.
2. Or *raktā*.

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glowing nature (*dīptā*), broadness and universality (*āyatā*), compassion and pity (*karuṇā*) softness or slackness (*mṛdu*), and intermediateness or mediant nature (*madhyā*). The microtones, as devised by Bharata, were also given the significant names, like *chandovatī*, *raudrī*, *dayāvatī*, *ramyā* etc. and perhaps they were named after the images of the microtones i.e. *jātis* of Nārada of the *Śikṣā*. As for example, *chandovatī* of Bharata corresponds with *madhyā* of Nārada, and it connotes the idea of order, system or peace; *dayāvatī* corresponds with *karuṇā* and it connotes the idea of compassion; *raudrī* corresponds with *dīptā* and it connotes the idea of firmness, strength or heroism, etc. So, from the psychological standpoint, we find that the microtone, *raudrī* contains or manifests the aesthetic moods of acuteness, cheerfulness, slackness etc. that are identical with the emotional sentiment, *veera* (heroism), as described by Bharata, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In this way it can be shown that all the microtones, making the seven notes (*laukika*) are impregnated with some specific aesthetic sentiment and emotive feeling, which stir and stimulate the minds of men and even animals.

In fact, the notes and consequently *rāgas* of not only of Indian music, but also of music of all nations of the world, are possessed of dynamic living force. They are not the dead structures of the material sound, but are the

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embodiment of energy and life. The inspired poets of the sixteenth-seventeenth century composed contemplative *dhyānas* out of the notes and the *rāgas*, and the artists drew their colourful visual pictures. Therefore the gross sound or sound-body (*śabdamaya-tanu*) of music was transformed into divine deity (*devamaya-tanu*). The worshippers and lovers of music found their solace and peace of mind in the divine music and music was recognized as the greatest and foremost art : '*na vidyā saṅgītāt paraḥ*'.

Indian music is divided into two main categories, theory and practice—*śāstra* and *sādhanā*. The one is suggestive and directive, and the other is the call to action. The one is the way and the other is the end or highest ideal. The theory or theoretical portion of music is again divided into some different phases and they are : grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), acoustics (*śabda-vijñāna*), literature (*sāhitya*), history (*itihāsa*), iconography (*mūrtitattva*), psychology (*manovijñana*) and philosophy (*darśaṇa*). All these phases really constitute the entirety of theory. So, by theory of music, we should not mean only the grammar or grammatical portion of music, as it is generally understood by some scholars.

The *grammar* of music deals with the questions of sonant (*aṃśā* or *vādī*), assonant (*samvādī*), dissonant (*anuvādī*), the upward and downward movements of the notes (*ārohaṇa* and *avarohaṇa*), *varṇa*, *murcchanā*, time factor (*kāla*), etc. of the *rāgaṣ*.

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The acoustics belong to the science of physics which deals with the phenomena of sound. It determines the distinction between noise and tone, non-periodic and periodic vibrations and their sensations, etc. It deals also with the scientific method of the construction of the musical instruments, the frequencies and ratios of the wire-lengths, situation of the frets, etc. The *literature* of music deals with the nature and beauty of the musical compositions, their metres, rimes, graces, etc. The history of music deals with the work of collecting the chronological data of music, their origin, developments and manifestations in different countries and among different nations, variations, adjustments and re-adjustments to the taste and temperament of the peoples of different times and geographical regions. The historical aspect of music really supplies a comprehensive idea of music and helps men to get the full vision of musical developments down the ages. The *iconography* of music deals with the *icons* or visual forms of the notes and the *rāgas*, with their corresponding emotional sentiments and moods. It helps men to get knowledge of both the subjective and objective designs and values of music. The *psychology* of music deals with the *psyche* or soul of music. It furnishes with the knowledge that every outward manifestation of music is caused by the mind or will-power, which is the real creator of music. So our attention should be

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concentrated on the creator first and then to the mover of the mind, the prime mover or higher intelligence. The *philosophy* of music deals with the wisdom or essence of music. It imparts to men a faculty of judgement and intuitive knowledge that make them analyse and understand music as the means to an end.

Therefore by theory of music, we must not think only of the grammar of music, but also understand that the word conveys all the phases of grammar, science, literature, history, iconography, psychology and philosophy. Only by the practice of these phases of theory or *śāstra*,, men may attain excellence in music. The duty of the *śāstra* is to lead to the genuine path of spiritual *sādhanā*, and when *sādhanā* gets fruition, men attain in their lives, immortality and everlasting bliss.

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CHAPTER THREE

EVOLUTION OF INDIAN MUSIC

'EVOLUTION of Indian Music' pervades the vast field of the origin and progression of different ingredients of Indian music, such as, notes, seminotes, scales, melodies, types of songs, musical limbs and parts, visual forms or pictures of the melodies, rhythm and tempo, musical instruments, dances, hand-poses, gestures and postures or the rhythmic and graceful movements of the body, emotional moods and sentiments, etc. Indian music is a living art. It is the dynamic power of symbolizing the divine intuition of man in sweet and soothing sound. It stimulates and stirs the human depths and awakens a higher consciousness in man.

Before entering into the discussion on the evolution of music, let us survey the musical aesthetics that impart dynamic impulse and impetus to men to create or project music. The psychic content always predominates over the world of matter. Every creative order is followed and motivated by the impulse of willing of the mind-content, which desings everthing ideally before projecting materially outside. Evolution of music is possible through the self-expressive process of Nature and it comes spontaneously without the deliberate application of rigid rules.

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The process of evolution is known by different terms like creation, re-creation, interpretation, expression, revelation, omission, historical process, progression, etc. The evolutionary process of music comprises the musical anthropology or the ethnic history of music, which deals with the origin and growth of music in the race or country, through different strata of time and space; which deals with the vastly varied rôles of music as progressively unfolded in rising racial cultures.

Music had its root in the most primitive savage life and evolved through countless strata. Now, what are the progressively evolving concepts of music? What is the conceptual urge of man behind the evolution of music? The foundational urge and concepts of music evolved in man from three sources: (1) primitive impulses and intuitions, (2) gradually emerging scientific findings in concrete situations, and (3) working theories which are direct outgrowth of love of the creative art. There was an intense feeling for the art of singing and dancing in the bosom of the primitive men, and those feelings and love came out in the form of song and dance. The subjective impulse was thus manifested as the objective forms.

Everything physical and psychical in the world of phenomena emerged through the process of evolution or progress. Music evolved always through the historical progress from the antique

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prehistoric days up to this time, and it will proceed on to the eternal future, in various changing forms and patterns.

In the primitive age, music was crude and monotonous, but it is believed that it had a much greater field than the later art-music, bound up with the everyday life of the primitive people. It was connected with many special factors: sociological, psychological, religous, symbolic and linguistic. The primitive people sang and danced when they felt something positive to express and to enjoy. Singing and dancing were the spontaneous outbursts of their simple and sweet thoughts. Song and speech were often mingled in the course of their life and social performances. It also happened that logical thought and the musical motive developed little by little from the indefinite to the definite in the course of the song, as if the initial dream-states were gradually manifesting as waking consciousness.

Well has it been said by Alfred Einstein that the first beginnings of music lie even deeper in historical obscurity than those of speech. Yet we shall have to gather knowledge of the origin and evolution of music for our historical study and culture. The musical medium is the music proper, as executed in the form of physical sounds, which have their physiological and psychical correlates. Sound forms the base of musical manifestation, or it will be correct to

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say that material sound forms the physic or corporeal body and impulse or emotion, the *psyche* or soul of music. So when inarticulate speech is developed into the use of certain sounds as symbols for impulse or emotion, we have the beginning of speech, as distinguished from tonal manifestation or music. It may be said to be an intellectual development in the field of articulate speech, leaving music for the expression of emotion or emotive feeling of man. In fact, the will to create music is an intellectual message or inspiration to man and when he creates music, his feelings are moulded in pure tone-experience, and the musical material and form take the shape of a stimulus for feeling of the beauty of tone or music in itself, aside from formal art or meaning. A similar process also originated in the minds of the primitive men, at the beginning of the manifestation of music on earth.

Music can reveal many things of the human world, which words or speech cannot. So the primitive people did everything through words and speech, but when they sang the songs, they did it through tones and tunes, forming the narratives or stories of their daily lives. They observed the rhythm by the clanking of stones, the pounding of wood or by the dashing of stone spearheads against wooden shields. Possibly getting the idea from the hide-covered shield, they stretched skins across the two open ends

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of the hollow trunks of tree or covered the open mouth of the earthen ditches and thus invented the musical instruments like drum, which accompanied their songs and dances. To keep time and to create stirring emotion, they clapped their hands, nodded their heads and moved the limbs of their bodies, and from them they gradually gathered the sense of measure of time, which, in turn, gave rise to the idea of rhythm. The primitive nations did not know at first the ratios and distant measures of the tones, but yet they used to add the notes to the words or speech, making them suitable for music. They knew the proper modes of utterances or the process of intonation. Just as a word was sometimes a sentence to the primitive men, so was a tone in songs something of a melody. Gradually they observed the forms and beauty of cadences of rise and fall in words and tones, and from the succession of words and tones, they discovered the laws and forms of melody, though in a crude form. The growth of melody was one of the main reasons why music was so significant in the life of primitive people. Prof. Marius Schneider says that primitive melody did not grow out of harmony, harmony was rather the product of melodic variants. Singing and dancing were closely related among the primitive people and they used to generate something which was more than the original movements themselves. All the rites relating to

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birth, circumcision, marriage, hunting, war, weather, medicine, and death were permeated with musical elements. Among the funeral songs, the women's laments and the songs which men sang in praise of the dead deserved special mention. In primitive cultures it was very difficult to distinguish musically the various kinds of songs since there was still so little differentiation of form. Often the type of voice used determined the character of a melody. Funeral songs and erotic songs were often sung in a nasal voice; love-songs were accompanied by a significant play of the lips. In more highly developed cultures, formal differentiation was usually determined by the various layers of tradition and that tradition was evident in every society of every nation, whether primitive or advanced. An archaic style survived in animal-songs and hunting-songs, and also in children's songs, funeral songs, epic songs, and in medicine and weather charms. Lamentations had a style of their own. In songs of praise of gods or supermen, the melodic line and volume tended either to rise emphatically or to start very high. Schneider says that the relation between the musical style and the content of the primitive song i.e. the words lies not in the external occasion like rain, war, etc. but in the prevailing psychological tension. As for example, if the witch doctor implores the spirit of disease to release his patient, the song will be friendly;

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if he fights it with his spear, the song will be war-like; yet both will be medicine songs. In this way it can be shown that songs of different occasions differ in their style and moods for their different situations and different atmospheres.

From the history of the beginning of civilization we know that the primitive society was at first unable to produce a tone or song clearly and cleanly, and the pitch of the music or tonal voice was invariably wavering. From this almost imperceptible rising and falling of the voice above and below one tone, says Edward Macdowell, we may gauge more or less the state of civilization of the nation to which the song or music belonged. It is also found that the phrase-tone invariably corresponds to the sentence-word, and like it, gradually loses its meaning as a phrase and fades into a tone which, in turn, is used in new phases as mankind mounts the ladder of civilization. Such was also the condition of words and songs in very early times.

Charles Darwin is of opinion that music evolved from the imitation of the cries and calls of the animals. Alfred Einstein also holds similar views. He says that comparative musicology, which deals with the primitive development of music, has admitted that primitive men may have been attracted by bird-song in the first place and have continued to use it as a model for imitation. Similar belief prevails among

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the Indian people. It has been mentioned in the *Nāradīśikṣā* (first century A.D.) : '*ṣaḍjaṃ vadati mayūro*' etc., i.e., the call of the peacock is similar to the tonality or pitch of the note *ṣaḍja*, that of the bull to that of *ṛiṣabha* ; that of the goat to that of *gāndhāra* ; that of the crane to that of *madhyama* ; that of the cuckoo to that of *pañcama* ; that of the horse to that of *dhaivata* and that of the *kunjara* or elephant to that of *niṣāda*. The *Śikṣā* also shows the physicophysical origin of the musical sounds or notes from the friction of the air with different parts of the human body.

The Western savants like Roussau, Harder and Herbert Spencer are of opinion that speaking with a raised voice was the beginning of song or music, i.e. music evolved from the raised voice speech in the most primitive society of all nations and a kind of speech-song or chant-like recitative was indeed to be found among the primitive men. Specially the Spencerian theory is an idealization of the natural language of passion. So, according to this theory, music is an extension of the primitive desire to communicate ; consequently its whole artistic function is related to the communication of human emotions and passions. Rowbotham does not accept the views of Spencer and he points out that impassioned speech is the source of music and it works as a vehicle for everyday emotions. Wallaschek, on the other hand,

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advances the theory that the original musical impulse was purely aesthetic, growing out of the rhythm. Some others hold that the very ancient sound-language 'is the older element from which developed both speech and song: speech striving towards free rhythm and music towards a more regulated one'. Dr. Burney is of opinion that music is anterior to word and language. He says in his *General History of Music*: 'Vocal music is of such high antiquity that its origin seems to have been coeval with mankind; at least the lengthened tones of pleasure and pain, of joy and affection, must long have preceded every other language, and music. The voice of passion wants but few articulations, and must have been nearly the same in all human creatures, differing only in gravity or acuteness according to age, sex and organization, till the invention of words by particular convention, in different societies, weakened, and by degrees rendered it unintelligible'. In fact, we know very little about the true languages of the primitive cultures of different nations. Various races might have displayed the elements of sound-languages, but so far only a small number of examplcs have been collected.

Now, music that evolved in the remote primitive time can be divided into two classes purely emotional and sensuous; the one arising from the language of heroes, and the other from the swaying or wavering of the body and the

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patter of feet. To both of these classes or elements, says Macdowell, if we may call them so, metre (dance) and melody brought their power; to declamation, metre brought its potent vitality, and to the dance, melody added its soft charm and lulling rhyme. So these are the two ways of looking at the primitive music: one, as impassioned speech, the nearest psychologically complete utterance of emotion known to man, and the other, as the dance, comprising as it does all that appeals to our nature. Nature exists with its exquisite beauty and grandeur, while simple hearted primitive man lives in it to enjoy it and also to conquer it. It is the strain of Nature in primitive man that gave him the dance and vocal music, and it is his godlike fight against Nature that gave him impassioned speech, beauty of form and motion on one side, and all that is divine in him on the other. The conception of an ordainer of the universe was already present in him. The universe around him, the sun, the moon, the stars, the sky and the ordered system of Nature created within him a great wonder and unbounded joy. He had realized the utility of a greater power, and, therefore, amid joys and sorrows, the hope of peace and solace led him utter the inmost converse of his heart to the world-ordainer. The language of his songs was meaningful and sincere. At first he used to sing and dance for his material prosperity.

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With the dawn of civilization his intellect and understanding became shining and acute, and his outlook was changed and, consequently, his motive of offering music. His music was gradually enriched with more notes, grace and emotion. The monotonous *ārcika* type of music, containing only one note, was replaced by the *gāthika* type, possessed of two notes. Afterwards a new type of *sāmika* music, with three notes, evolved out of the remains of the *gāthika*. Gradually for the growing taste and temperament of the more civilized Vedic people, the *sāmika* was replaced by the *svarāntara* type of music, possessed of four notes. Music with five notes, *auḍav* type of music, then evolved and it was again replaced by the *ṣāḍava* type of music, possessed of six notes. Upon the skeleton of the *ṣāḍava* type of music, the music with seven notes, *sampūrṇa* type at last flowered into full sweep and beauty.

A review of the *Brāhmaṇa, Saṁhitā* and *Āraṇyaka* literature shows simplicity in form and in the presentation of music of early days. Music consisted of recitative hymns or *stotras*, songs, prayers and lays in the early stage. With the progress of civilization and human intellect, the cultural sphere was lit up with a 'heavenly' glow. The conception of various deities and gods came into being and man paid his homage to them in words and tunes.

The sun-worship was prevalent in the remote

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antiquity. The sky (*ākāśa*) was conceived as *Varuṇa-devatā* in the early Vedic society and the sun as *Mitra* or *Mithra*, the friend of the universe. Again the sun and the sky were known as the twin god, *Mitra-Varuṇa*. The sky was often looked upon as the ocean of milk or *kṣiroda-samudra* and the sun as the celestial god. The fire-worship gradually evolved as the prototype (*pratinidhi*) of the sun-worship and fire was regarded as the sacred symbol of the sun, nay, the god of the nether world. Different rites and sacrifices (*satra* and *yajña*) evolved. The butter was poured into the sacrificial fire as sacred offering and it was believed that the gods and deities received their oblations through the medium of the flames of the sacrificial fire. They thought that the flames were no other than the tongues of the gods : '*viṣṇu-jihvā*'. The Viṣṇu was the representative of the sun and the fire. In the mytho-historical literature, *Devī Sarasvatī*, the presiding deity of learning and all arts, was described as the tongue of the sacrificial fire : '*agni-jihvā Sarasvatī*'. Along with sacrificial offerings—lays and songs were sung in rhythm, and music was considered as part and parcel of the rites and sacrifices. The songs were accompanied with various musical instruments and the cadences of dancing added to the serenity and beauty of music.

The ancient authors on music conceived and deified the primal sound, *Nāda*, as a symbol of

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the goddess *Sarasvatī*, nay, they personified the unmanifested causal sound (*anāhata Nāda*) as *Sarasvatī*, with a dynamic spirit and eternal energy. They say that the manifested musical sound (*āhata Nāda*) is surcharged with that divine energy and soothes the aching hearts of worldly men and animals with its manifold manifestations as notes, semitones, colours, pitches, graces, harmony and melody.

Goddess *Sarasvatī* has been conceived as an incarnation or the presiding deity of fine arts, music, painting and sculptures, nay of all learning or *vidyā*. In Vedic literature we find that the goddess has been mentioned in different forms and names. Sometimes she has been called the blazing fire or the glowing ray of the sun, as the *vajra* ('*Sarasvatī tad-dvitīyaṃ vajra-rūpaṃ*'), or the river, etc. In fact, the goddess *Sarasvatī* is a Vedic deity and her worship was prevalent in the Vedic society. In the Ṛgveda we find that the minor sacrifices were known as *prayāja*. Eleven *prayājas* were used in the animal sacrifices (*paśu-yāga*) and those eleven *prayājas* were dedicated to eleven deities. The *mantras*, which were chanted in the names of those gods, were known as the *āprimantras*, and those eleven gods were also designated as *Āpridevatās* and their names were : *Iḍā*, *tvaṣṭā*, triat gods (*Iḍā*, *Bhāratī*, *Sarasvati*), *Usasanakta*, *Tanunapāt*, *Daivya-hotāra*, *Nāras'aṁśa*, *Valih*, *Vanaspati*, and *Svāhākṛti*. The 110th *sūtra*

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of 10th *maṇdala* of the Ṛgveda was known as the *āpri-sūkta* and its eighth *Ṛk* or stanza was also known by the three deities, *Iḍā*, *Bhāratī* and *Sarasvatī*. The *Ṛk* verse runs thus :

Āh no yajñaṃ bhāratī tūyame-
tvilā manṣvadiha chetayantī |
Tisro devīrvahiredaṃ syonaṃ
Sarasvatī svapasaḥ sadaṃ tu ||

Iḍā and *Bhāratī* were the constant companions of *Sarasvatī*. Besides the *Sarasvatī-sūkta*, they were mentioned in hymnal songs (*stuti*) and in forty *mantras* of other *sūktas*. In those hymns, the names of *Iḍā* and *Bhāratī* were associated with *Sarasvatī*. Sāyana mentioned in the commentary on the 1.13.9 *Ṛk*: '*Iḍādisavdābhidheyoḥ vahni-murtayastisraḥ*', i.e. *Iḍā*, *Bhārati* and *Sarasvatī* were conceived as three balzing flames of fire (*Agni*). In the commentary on the *Ṛk* 1.188.4. Sāyana again mentioned that *Iḍā* was connected with the earth, *Bhāratī* with the sun and *Sarasvatī* with the sky and they were considered as *Vācdevī*. Again in the commentary on the *Ṛk* 1.142.9, he connected the three deities with the effulgence of the sun or *Āditya*. In the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* they were conceived again as *prāṇa*, *apāṇa and vyāna*.

In the Ṛgveda (1.142.9) we find again the names of four deities instead of three and they were *Iḍā*, *Bhāratī*, *Mahī* and *Sarasvatī*. In the *Ṛk* 1.13.1 the name of *Bhāratī* was again dropped.

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Gradually *Iḍā*, *Bhāratī* and *Sarasvatī* were conceived as one and the same, and *Sarasvatī* became predominant with all the qualities of the other two. So we find that *Sarasvatī* is worshipped from the early Vedic period.

Again we find in the Vedic literature that the sacred river, *Sarasvatī* was identified with the goddess. Yāska in his *Nirukta* (II.23) called *Sarasvatī* a 'river' as well as a 'goddess' : '*Sarasvatī* * * *etasya nadīvad devatāvacca nigamābhāvāḥ*'. Sāyana in his commentary on the *Ṛk* stanza 1.3.12 said that though the word '*saras*' signified 'water' or a 'river', yet it meant a 'god' or a 'goddess' : '*dvividha hi sarasvatī vigrahavad devatā-nadīrūpā ca*'. Most of the Western scholars have identified the goddess with water or a river. In Vedic India, the river, *Sarasvatī* was regarded sacred like the rivers, *Dvṛṣadvatī*, *Vipāsā*, etc. In fact, in the Ṛgveda we find the references of '*pañchajātaḥ*', '*pañcajāta vardhayanti*'. It is said that the *Ṛṣis*, kings and also common people used to perform sacrifices on the bank of the river, *Sarasvatī*. The '*pañcajātaḥ*' were again known as *pañcajanāḥ*, *pañcajanāyāḥ* and *pañcakṛtayāḥ*. Some are of opinion that *pañcajāta* or five races were no other than *Gandharva* or the semi-divine people, *Pitṛ* or the departed fathers, *Deva* or the gods, *Asura* or uncivilized non-Aryan people and *Rākṣasa* or the demon. Sometimes the name of *Niṣāda* is also found. Some say that by the word '*pañcajātah*' five kinds of races or clans were

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meant and they were *Aṇu*, *Drahyu*, *Puru*, *Turvāsa* and *Yadu* and *Atrī*. *Atrī* was their priest. These races or clans used to pray to *Agni*, *Soma*, *Mitra* (the sun), *Indra* and *Sarasvatī*. The Ṛṣis used to sing their daily prayers to the river, *Sarasvatī*. Gradually the Ṛṣis or Brāhmiṇs began to perform sacrifices on the bank of the river, *Sarasvatī*, invoking *Devī Sarāsvatī*, and here we find that the river was identified with the divine goddess.

Further we find an interpretation of the words '*saras*' or '*apaḥ*' i.e. water as the *Soma*, which corresponds to the Moon (*candra*) or *Devī-Gourī*. In the Ṛg-Veda (9.1.6) *Soma* was called as a 'daughter' (*duhitā*) of the sun (*Mitra*) In the Vedic literature, *Sarasvatī* was again conceived as a 'cow', as well as the sacred words (*vācaṃ*) like *svāhākāra*, *vaṣatkāra* and *hantakāra*. We have already mentioned that the goddess was known in the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Prātiśākhyas* as *Viṣṇu*, *Iḍā*, *Ilā*, *Tvaṣṭā*, *Bhāratī*, *Tanunpāt*, *Vanaspati*, *Jyoti*, etc. Yāska indentifies *Iḍā* or *Ilā* with the sacred fire or *Agni*, the terrestrial Sun. Hindus, Buddhists and Jains generally recognize the goddess *Sarasvatī* as '*Vāc-devī*', '*Vāgeśvarī*', '*Vidyādharī*', '*Bhadra-kālī*', '*Vidyā*' and '*Sāradā*'. The Buddhist Mahāyāni sects conceive the goddess as a divine force or '*śakti*', an emanation of *Manjuśrī*, the masculine god of knowledge who destroys all the evil forms (ignorance) or '*avidyās*' and doubts or *saṁśaya* with his sword (*kṛpāṇa*). Prof. O. C.

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Gangoly thinks that with the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism to China and Japan, the Indian *Sarasvatī* has been identified with the Japanese goddess, Benten, who like the Indian prototype carries in her hands a lute (*Veeṇā*). Her full name in Japan is Dal-leen-zai-ten or the 'Greek Divinity of the Reasoning Faculty'. This seems to recall the close association of *Lakṣmī* and *Sarasvatī* in Indian mythology. In earlier times, *Devī Sarasvatī* used to be worshipped in the name of *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī* on *Śrī-Pañcamī* day. Gradually the idea of *Śrī*, the goddess of luck and prosperity, was separated from the idea of *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of learning and knowledge.

However, the conception of the goddess *Sarasvatī* is a beautiful one in the Hindu literature. The seers of truth made her an embodiment of all-existence, all-intelligence, all-bliss (*saccidānandamayī*). She has been imagined as the fountain-head of divine potential energy that animates all beings and permeates all becomings of the world.

There runs an allusion in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (VII 2.4.1-7), from which we know that music is in itself *Devī Sarasvatī* or it can be said, music has originated from the goddess. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* says that Viśvāvasu a Gandharva, stole *Soma* from *Gāyatrī*. *Gayatrī* is the Vedic metre like *Vṛhatī*, *Jagatī* etc. and represents the Sun. Gandharva Viśvāvsu is known as a renowned author on music. When

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the *Devas* came to know of the theft of *Soma* by Gandharva, Viśvāvasu, they sent the beautiful virgin *Vāc* or *Vācdevī* to rescue *Soma*, the nectar. The Gandharvas, it is said, were fond of women and beauty. When *Vācdevī* approached the Gandharvas, they were charmed with her divine and exquisite beauty and grace. They came to gods and said: 'Let yours be the *Soma* and let *Vāc* or *Vācdevī* be ours'. This *Vāc* is *Devī Sarasvatī*. Here *Devī* and the art of music have been identified. Afterwards *Devī* was conceived as the presiding Deity of all arts, and the musicologists called her the unmanifested causal sound, *Nāda*. The Gandharvas got *Devī* in their possession and so they excelled all others in music.[1]

From this Vedic allusion we get a very important clue to music. The Gandharvas were

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1. Dr. A. K. Coomāraswāmy related this fact in a very beautiful way. He said: 'Similarly but more briefly in the *Taittīriya-Saṃhitā*, VI. 1.6.5.6, where also the Gandharvas who utter incantations are contrasted with the (mundane) deities who merely 'sing', and Vāc follows the latter, but is restored to the former as the price of Soma. The mundane deities are, of course the immanent Breaths, the powers of the soul; it is only when they restore the Voice to the Sacerdotium that they are enabled to partake of the Water of Life; as in RV. X.109.5-7, where the (mundane) deities, restoring his wife (i.e., Vāc) to Bṛhaspati, obtain the Soma in exchange, and are made free of their original sin'.—Vide *Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art* (1956), p. 141.

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the semi-divine people of the north-western province of India. Some are of opinion that they had a special system of music and their scale of music was known as the *gāndhāra-grāma*. It is said that they made a special and most important contribution to Indian music, and for this reason the ancient authors of music designated the art of the *laukika* music as '*gāndharvaṃ*' or '*gāndharva-vidyā*', to commemorate the valuable gift of the semi-divine Gandharvas.

The primitive type of music was gradually replaced by the newly moulded ones. The Vedic music, *sāmagāna* evolved through the medium of songs and singing processes of the chanters and singers, and their laws, materials and processes are contained in three main song-books, *grāmegeya-gāna*, *araṇyegeya-gāna* and *ūha* and *ūhya gānas*. These three Vedic song-books were really composed of three kinds of *Ṛks* or collections of verses and those *Ṛks* were : *Pūrvārcika*, *Āraṇyaka-Saṁhitā* and *Uttarārcika*. The verses were the sources or womb (*yoni*) of the songs. The uses of the *Pūrvārcika* were divided into three parts and they were dedicated to three gods or presiding deities, *Agni*, *Indra* and *Soma-Pavamāna*. The *gānas*, *grāmegeya* and *araṇyegeya* existed side by side in the Vedic society and were regarded as the Vedic *gānas*. The only difference between them was : the former was sung publicly by all communities of people, whereas the latter was meant for the mystic chanters or singers of the

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sacred forests and they were religious and spiritual. The *gānas*, *ūha* and *ūhya* were also sung in the Vedic sacrifices side by side with the *gānas*, *grāmegeya* and *araṇyegeya*. The *Pañca-viṁśa-Brāhamaṇa* states that the notes of the *ūha* and *ūhya gānas* were similar to those of the *yonigāna* or *veyagāna*.

Now, what were the notes of the Vedic *gānas*? We know from the *Brāhmaṇa*, *Śikṣā* and *Prātiśākhya* that the *sāmagānas* like *grāmegeya* and *araṇyegaya*, etc., were sung with different numbers of Vedic notes, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *mandra*, *atisārya* and *kruṣta*. These Vedic notes were in downward movement (*avarohaṇa-krama*), whereas the notes of the classical music were in upward movement (*ārohaṇa-krama*). While discussing the structure of the melodic ambit of the primitive music, Prof. Schneider says that the upward extension of compass is a late product historically. In early Greek music too, we find the same downward movement of the notes in the pentatonic forms or scales. Dr. Winternitz is of opinion that there must once have existed a fairly large number of *Saṁhitās*, which originated in different schools of priests and singers, and which continued to be handed down. Many of these collections were nothing but slightly diverging recensions—*śākhās* or branches of one and the same *Saṁhitā*. The *Prātiśakhya* of the *Sāmaveda*, *Puṣpasūtra* and the *Nāradīśikṣā* state that the followers of the

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recensions like *Kaṭha*, *Taittirīya* and *Āhvāraka* and the *Sāmaveda* practised the *sāmagānas* with only the first note ; the followers of the Ṛgveda used in their songs, first, second and third notes ; the *Kauthuma* recensions used two notes only and some of the singers used in their songs, four, five, and six and seven notes. In fact, all the seven notes were used in the Vedic music, and it is interesting to note that these seven notes were also used by the pre-historic Indus people.

We know from the diggings of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa mounds that many of the valuable things like seals, sacred tank, dolls of the deities, musical instruments like crude-type flutes, lutes or *Veeṇā*, with seven strings,[1] different kind of drums and a bronze dancing girl were discovered. It is striking to note that the lute

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1. Stuart Piggot says : 'Cymbals were used to accompany dancing, * * there were reed flutes or pipes, a stringed instrument of the lute class, and a harp or lyre, which is mentioned as having seven tones or notes * *. There is good evidence that these instruments were constucted according to the heptatonic scale (seven notes) * *.'—Cf. *Prehistoric India* (1950), pp. 270-271.

Rāi Bāhādur K. N. Dīkṣit says : 'Some of the pictographs appear to be representations of a crude stringed instrument, a prototype of the modern *vīṇā* ; while a pair of castanets, like the modern *karatāla*, have also been found'. —Cf. *Prehistoric Civilization of the Iudus Valley* (Madras. 1939), p. 30.

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or *Veeṇā* with seven strings prove that the musical sense of the Indus Valley people was very keen and artistic. Stuart Piggot admits that there is good evidence that some of the musical instruments were constructed according to the heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*) scale, with seven notes. We find similar instances in pre-historic Mesopotamian and Sumerian civilization and culture. Curt Sachs is of opinion that though very few musical instruments were excavated in Mesopotamia, and most of them were found in the royal cemetery at Ur, Abraham's native town, yet many reliefs and plaques, seals and mosaics, from a period extending over three thousand years, depict musical scenes, where pipes or lutes with different holes were to be found. Dr. Henry George Farmer, while dealing on the music of ancient Mesopotamia, says that from early Sumerian to late Assyrian days, music was part and parcel of social life in Mesopotamia. 'From the time of Ashur-naṣir-pal III (c. 883-859 B.C.) we get ample lithographic material on music and musical instruments. The British Museum bas-reliefs also illustrate the artistic interests of Ashur-bāni-pal (668-626 B.C.)'. Dr. Farmer says that the 'cordophone group of Mesopotamian instruments reveals types of the highest interest to musicologists. Perhaps the most remarkable are the harp and kithara family; the evolutionary stages of the harp are particularly fascinating.* * In the first,

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found on a slab from Khafāja (c. 2700 B.C.), now at Chicago.* * Similar examples (c. 2600 and 2500 B.C.) are at Philadelphia.* * The second form, with a separate bow-shaped neck fixed to a horizontal sound-chest, was not unlike the Burmese *saun*. It is delineated on a vase form Bismaya (c. 3000 B.C.) at Stamboul, although there is an actual specimen from Ur (twenty-fifth century B.C.) at the British Museum. The instrument of the foremost player on the Bismaya vase has only seven strings whilst the Ur instrument has eleven. The former may relate to the *šibītu* (seven stringed harp),* *'. Woolley, Galpin, and Curt Sachs also admit this fact.

Regarding the heritage of the instruments, found in Mesopotamia, Ur, Sumeria, Greece and other places, Dr. Farmer says that Terpander is of opinion that the lyre had four strings until he made them seven (iii.67), which Strabo seems to confirm. 'Whence did this inspiration come? Could it have been Babylon? If we can trust pseudo-Plutarch (*De musica*. iii, xviii), it would appear that the Greeks at this time were most conservative in musical matters. Boéthus says that it was the seven planets which suggested the number of strings which agrees with a Mesopotamian origin.* * Instruments of music found their way into Greece from the Orient in large numbers. Strabo says: 'And those writers who have consecrated to whole

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of Asia, as far as India, to Dionysus, derive the greater part of music from there'. But it is interesting to mention that the editors of *The New Oxford History of Music* fight shy of a truth when they do not admit their debt to India's contribution, as they say in the footnote that the term 'India' meant countries much nearer, vide *Cosmographia Ethici* (p. 28) with the additions by Julius Honorius (p. 7). Even the ecclesiastical historians call the Arabs 'Indians'. However, it is a fact that some of the developed musical instruments were found in the most ancient pre-historic cities like Mahenjo-daro, Harappa and Channu-daro, and the seven notes with the heptatonic scale was known to these people. Dancing was also prevalent in the Indus Valley cities. Rāi Bāhādur Dīkṣit says that besides dancing, it appears that music was cultivated among the Indus people, and it seems probable that the earliest stringed instruments and drums are to be traced to the Indus civilization.

It has been mentioned in the *Śiksās* and the *Prātiśākhyas* that the evolution of the seven notes were eompleted in the early Vedic time. The seven stringed lute or *Veeṇā*, excavated from the mounds of Mohenja-daro is no doubt a genuine evidence and landmark, in tracing out the culture of the socalled pre-historic Indus cities, which was perhaps uninterruptedly connected with the Vedic culture. We are glad

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to know that some of the modern archæologists and historians have found out some similarities of culture and civilization between the antique Indus Valley cities and the Vedic society.

But it is difficult to know the definite forms of music of the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa peoples, and some of the features and characteristics of their music can be guessed only through the light of the Vedic music, the form and culture of which extended down to 600-500 B.C.

The expert singers and chanters of the Vedic age knew fully well the specific laws and method of application of the three registers : bass, medium and high i.e., *mandra*, *madhya* and *tāra*. The three ancient register notes or *sthānasvaras*, raised, not-raised and balancing circumflex i.e. *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* came to be used as three kinds of pitches of speaking as well as singing voices. The rhythm and tempo were used in accordance with different types of feet of the Vedic metres, *gāyatrī*, *jagatī*, *anuṣṭupa*, etc. The time-measure or *tāla* was observed in hymnal songs and different types of *sāmagāna* in two different ways, with beat and without beat i.e. *sa-śabda* and *nis-śābda*. The *sa-śabda* time measure was kept with the clapping of hands and the *nis-śabda* one by wavering of the hands or different limbs of the body. From these two fundamental time-measures or time-observing processes there evolved various kinds of time-

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measures in the *gāndharva* or *mārga* type of music, in the classical period.

600-400 B.C. is an epoch-making period and it can be said to be an age of renaissance. At the advent of the classical period there evolved a new type of music, known as *gāndharva*. It was constructed out of the materials and principles of the Vedic music, *sāmagana*. Bharata of the second century A.D. has traced the traditional link between the music, *vaidika* and *laukika* i.e., *sāmagāna* and classical *gāndharva*, in connection with the compilation of his *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Music was an indispensible adjunct of ancient Sanskrit plays. The *gāndharva* type of music was considered as sacred and celestial like the Vedic music and so it was known as '*mārga*'. The term '*mārga*' suggests the idea of searching ('*mṛg—anveṣaṇe*') and collecting, i.e., *mārga* connotes the idea that most of the materials of the Vedic music were searched for and collected (*saṁgṛhīta*) and then applied to the classical *gāndharva* type of music. The practice of the Vedic music became gradually obsolete, as it did not suit the taste of the progressive people of the classical society.

In the *Saṇgīta-Darpaṇa*, the 'highway' music is called as '*mārga*', because it was followed by Śiva or Druhina and practised (*prayuktaṃ*) by Bharata. In Dhanañja's *Daśarūpa* (I.15,) dancing has been called as '*mārga*', as it displayed the meaning of words by means of gestures. In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (III.2.4), sacred music

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has been mentioned as distinct from profane music, in connection with the seduction of Vāk 'who is won over from the Gandharvas by the Devas'. Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy says: "Now the word *mārga*, rendered above by 'highway' derives from *mṛg*, to chase or hunt, especially by tracking. In the Ṛgveda it is familiar that what one hunts and tracks by its spoor is always the deity, the hidden light, the occulted Sun or Agni, who must be found, and is sometimes referred to as lurking in his lair. This is so well known that a very few citations will suffice. In Ṛv. VIII.2.6 men are said to pursue (*mṛgayante*) Indra, as one pursues a wild beast (*mṛgaṃ na*), with offerings of milk and kine (which may be compared to bait); in Ṛv. VII.87.6, Varuṇa is compared to a 'fierce beast' (*mṛgas tuviṣman*); in Ṛv.X.46.2 the Bhṛgus, eager seekers after Agni, track him by his spoor (*padaiḥ*) like some lost beast (*paśun na naṣṭaṃ*). *Mārga* is then the creature's 'runway', the 'track to be followed' (*padaviya*) by the *vestigium pedis*. One seęs thus clearly what values are implied in the expression *mārga*, 'Way', and how inevitably that which is *mārga* is likewise *vimukti-da*, since it is precisely by the finding of the Hidden Light that liberation is effected".

Further he mentions: "*Deśi*, on the other hand, deriving from *diś*, to 'indicate', and hence *diś*, 'region' or 'quarter', is 'local'; cf. *deśaṃ niviś*, to 'settle' in a given locality, *deśa vyavahāra* or

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deśācāra, 'local custom', 'way of the world', and *deśya*, 'native'. * * *loka*, 'world', is etymologically Latin *locus*, a place defined by given conditions; the *laukika*, 'mundane' is literally 'local'; * * From the celestial or solar point of view, *deśī* is thus mundane, human and devious, as distinct from super-mundane, divine and direct, * *. We think it has now been made sufficiently clear that the distinction of *mārga* from *deśī* is not necessarily a distinction of aristocratic and cultivated from folk and primitive art, but one of sacred and traditional from profane and sentimental art".[2]

In the beginning of the classical period, there evolved the new *jāti* type of music, which was mainly connected with the performance of drama, and so it was known as the stage-song or *nātyagīti* i.e., a type of melodic song applicable to drama. It is said that two great authors, Brahmā or Brahmābharata and Sadāśiva or Sadāśivabharata flourished between 600 and 500 B.C. and they wrote or compiled two new types of dramas, *Brahmābharataṃ* and *Sadāśivabharataṃ*, in which some chapters were devoted to music.[3] Bharata of the second century A.D. follows them and collects most of the materials from their dramas, and so his *Nāṭyaśāstra* is known by the name *saṁgraha-grantha* or 'collection'.

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2. Vide Dr. Coomaraswamy: *Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art* (Dover Publications Inc., 1956), pp.133-138.

3. Abhinavagupta says: '**एतेन सदाशिवब्रह्मभरतमतद्वयविवेचनेन**'।

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The newly evolved *jātirāga* songs were known as the pure parent type of music of the beginning of the classical age, and they were named after the initial letters of the seven *laukika* or *deśī* notes, *ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, etc., They were possessed of ten characteristics like sonant (*vādī* or *aṁśa*), consonant (*samvādī*), assonant (*anuvādī*), melodic movements or *varṇas*, spanning of the scale or *mūrcchanā*, notes like initial (*graha*) and final (*nyāsa*), etc. The *jātis* were both melodies and songs themselves, like the *rāgagītis*, as mentioned by Mataṅga of the fifth-seventh century, but the *jātis* were the source or forerunners of both the *grāmarāgas* and the *rāgagītis*. The *jāti* type of melodies had their full play in the ancient scales or *grāmas* like *ṣaḍja*, *gāndhāra* and *madhyama*, with three registers or *sthānas* and successions of notes, in their ascending and descending orders. They were impregnated with eight emotional sentiments and moods. Different musical instruments like lute or *Veeṇā*, flute or *Veṇu*, cymbal and different types of drum followed them. In the *Rāmāyana* (400 B.C.) we find the practice of pure seven *jātirāgagānas*. The wandering Bards, Kuśa and Lava, were efficient in both Vedic and Classical types of music, and they were trained by their Master Vālmikī.

Between 400 and 200 B.C. there evolved another new type of melodic song, *grāmarāga*. It has already been said that the *grāmarāga* songs

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were constructed out of the *jātirāgas* of different *grāmas*. The *grāmas* evolved out of the cluster or succession of notes. From the *Nāradīśikṣā* of the first century A.D. we know that seven kinds of scales evolved and gave rise to seven types of melodies like *grāmarāgas*. The seven types of scales and melodies are: *ṣāḍava*, *pañcama*, *ṣaḍja-grāma*, *madhyamagrāma*, *sādhārita*, *kaiśika* and *kaiśika-madhyama*. The existence of these seven ancient scales are fully supported by the Kudumiamalai Cave-Inscription, installed by the Pallava King Mahendravarman, in the early Chālukyan period, seventh century A.D. In *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.) and *Harivaṁśa* (200 B.C.) we find the practice of the six *grāmarāgas*: '*ṣaḍ-grāmarāgādi samādhi-yuktaṃ*'. These *grāmarāgas* had their full play even in the third *gāndhāragrāma*: '*ā-gandhāra-grāmarāgaṃ*', which was rendered obsolete in the Christian era. The *prabandha* type of classical *Brahmagītis* and *Kapālagītis* also evolved at that time, the full descriptions of which are mentioned in Śāraṅgadeva's encyclopaedic work *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* of the early thirteenth century. These new types of *Brahmagītis* were *aparāntaka*, *ullopya*, *sarovindu*, *uttara*, *ṛk*, *gāthā*, *pānik*, etc. It is said that they were devised by Brahmābharata, the first propagator of the *gāndharva* music. Śāraṅgadeva says that the *Brahmagītis* were practised with *jāti* or *grāma rāgas* of different scales, registers, rhythms and tempo.

In the beginning of the Christian era, we

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come across the *Śikṣā* literature, which dealt mainly with metres and tunes of the Vedic stanzas (*ṛcs*). Some of the *Śikṣās* are very important for the classical music also. The *Nāradīśikṣā* describes both *vaidika* and *laukika* music. It deals with seven kinds of melodies and scales, which have been mentioned before. Besides the seven melodies or *grāmarāgas*, we find that there evolved five microtones, which served the basic notes of the tonal forms of the *gāndharva* music, and it has been said before that they were : *dīptā*, *āyatā*, *mṛdu*, *madhyā* and *karuṇā*. The names of the socalled microtones were given, according to their respective inherent sentiments and moods ; as for example, the microtone *dīptā* signifies *shining*, *glowing* or *heroic* mood, which means the sentiment *vīra* ; *āyatā* signifies *broadness*, which means *śānta* ; *mṛdu* signifies *softness* or *slackness*, which means *jugupsā* or *vibhatsa* ; *madhyā* signifies *intermediate* or *balancing*, which means *hāsya*, and *karuṇā* signifies *compassion*, which means *karuṇa*. In fact, all the eight aesthetic sentiments, as described by Bharata, were the inherent qualities of the microtones, and from these, evolved the latter twenty-two microtones, *chandovatī*, etc. The microtones are useful for determining the correct intonation of the tones, their bases or grounds and consequently the *grāmas* or scales. They are very significant and meaningful, because they determine the emotive nature of the melodies or *rāgas*.

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During the time of Bharata (second century A.D.), though the *gāndharva* type of music played an important rôle in the domain of Indian music, yet a tendency of rectifying or formalizing the tribal and regional tunes was found among the progressive communities of people. Bharata devised eleven mixed or *saṁkīrṇa jātirāgas* and *jātirāga-gītis*, with all the characteristics and *aṅgas*, and, therefore, in his time, eighteen types of *jātirāgas* and *gītis* were in practice. The four types of regional but classical songs, *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *sambhābitā* and *pṛthulā* also evolved and they were sung along with the *jātis* and sacred *dhruvāgītis*. Some of the hymnal *dhruvā-gītis*, which were sung in praise of the gods, were known as the '*saṁkīrtana*', with the name of which we are familiar during the time of Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal, in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries A.D.

Bharata developed twenty-two *śrutis* or audible subtle notes, based upon the genus-species or *janya-janaka* principle and built the whole system upon the basis of the socalled five micro-tones, as described by Nārada of the *Śikṣā*. Bharata discoverd the *śrutis*, by the help of two same-sized *Veeṇās*, shiftable and fixed i.e., *cala* and *acala*. The Vedic musical instruments, *kāśyapī* or *kacchapī*, *kṣauṇi*, *kinnarī*, *audumvarī*, *ghoṣakā*, *vāna* or the latter evolved *kātyāyanī* with hundred strings, *picchorā* or *piccholā*, etc. were developed or moulded into new forms. Some

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of them were replaced by newly devised *Veeṇās* like *Dāravī*, *Gātra*, *Citrā*, *Vipañci*, etc. The practice of flute or pipe (*Veṇu*) survived with its old traditional glory throughout the ages. The Vedic drum was modified to some extent and out of it, the *puṣkara* or *mṛdaṅga* type of drum evolved, which accompanied the *gānas*, *jātirāga*, *grāmarāga*, *dhruvā*, etc. Different kinds of time-measures like *samā*, *srotogatā*, and *gopucchā* evolved with different units or *kalās* like *citrā*, *vārtika*, and *dakṣiṇā*. Other kinds of *jātis* like *viṣama*, *mṛdaṅga*, *pluta* also came into being. The *jātis* used to keep pace with the musical movements.

Like dramatic play and different types of *prabandha-gītis*, classical dances with different hand-poses and gestures and postures evolved as part and parcel of the dramatic music. Bharata used two terminologies, *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* for dance, of which the former signified the dance devoid of emotional sentiments (*rasa*) and moods (*bhāva*) and was based on sheer physical gestures and movements, supported by rhythm and tempo (*tāla* and *laya*), while the latter eonveyed both sentiment and mood. This distinction and their significance have been made clear by Dhanika, Dhanañjaya and Abhinavagupta. During the time of Abhinavagupta, at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century A.D., there evolved seven types of dance or *nṛtta*, which were accompanied by *gīta* and *vādya*.

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The seven types of *nṛtta* were: *śuddha, gītādi-abhinayonmukha, gāna-vādya-tālānusāri, uddhānta, miśraṇa, miśraṇoddhānta* and *miśra-miśrana*. From the *uddhanta-nṛtta*, the *tāṇḍava* type and from the *sukumāra-nṛtta*, the *lāsya* type of dances evolved. Again from *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya*, different kinds of classical dances evolved with their specific movements of the body and hand-poses.

After Bharata, Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Durgāśakti, Dattila, Śārdula, Mataṅga and other musicologists formulated many new types of melodies. Especially in the fourth-seventh century, there was a new revival in Indian music, with the evolution of numerous sophisticated regional and tribal tunes. Some of the foreign non-Aryan tunes like *śaka, śakatilaka, śaka-miśrita. turuṣka, turuṣka-toḍi, turuṣka-gauḍa, pulindikā* etc. were included into the Aryan stock. The *śakarāga* was the national tune of the Scythians. Yāṣṭika and Mataṅga have discussed about five kinds of regional type of *gītis* and they were; *śuddhā, bhinnā* or *bhinnakā, vesarā, gauḍa* and *sādhārita*. These types of *rāgagītis* were known by their respective tunes or *rāgas*.

Two new and novel ideas evolved during Mataṅga's time and they were the philosophical concept of the theory of musical sound and the *śāstric* and scientific definition of the melody. Though melody type or *rāga* was in practice from the pre-Christian era, yet Mataṅga for the first time determined its specific meaning

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and definition, in the fifth-seventh century A.D. He mentioned seventy-three types of subordinate melodies or *bhāṣā-rāgas*, and they were mostly regional and aboriginal in nature.

During the times of Kohala, Yāṣṭika, and Mataṅga, the Gupta Rulers were in full power. It is said that the poet Kālidāsa flourished then, though there is a dispute among the historians regarding his date. Kālidāsa has given the *mūrcchanās* a very high place and during his time, the *mūrcchanās* of the *gāndhāra-grāma*, survived among the communities of Gandharva, Yakṣa and Kinnara. The *maṅgala-prābandha-gānas* were also in practice in his time, as they were in the pre-Christian era, but the special feature of the sacred *maṅgalagīti* of his time was that it was sung with one traditional *kaiśikī* and one regional *botta rāgas*. The tune or *rāga botta* evolved in the land of the Himalāyan Bhutiās i.e. the Bhotadeśas like Tibet, Bhutān, etc. From this it is understood that there was cultural and commercial link between India and Bhotadeśa. Many of the dramatic music and dances evolved during the time of Kālidāsa and they were *gītis* like *dvipadīkā*, *jambhalikā*, *khaṇḍadhārā*, etc., and dances like *khuraka*, *khaṇḍaka valantikā*, and *galitakā*, etc.

In the ninth-eleventh century, during the time of the Jaina musicologist Pārśadeva, two kinds of *ālapti*, *rāgālapti* and *rūpakālapti*, evolved which formed the basic ground of the mani-

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festation of the tonal forms of the *rāgas*. The tunes of the aboriginal Himalāyan tribe, *Bhiravā —Bhairava* and *Bhairavī* were introduced into the Aryan stock and they were afterwards recognized as the prominent melodies in the classical type of music. Besides them, variants of tunes or melodies of *varāti*, *toḍī*, *gauḍa*, *gurjarī*, etc. and those of *śrī* and *krī* stocks, evolved to enrich the treasure of Indian classical music.

In the early thirteenth century, the South Indian musicologist Śāraṅgadeva formulated twelve kinds of displaced or chromatic notes, in addition to the pure seven notes. Before him, only two displaced or *vikṛta* notes, *antara-gāndhāra* and *kākali-niṣāda*, were current in the system of Indian music. During his time we notice that the five limbs (*aṅgas*) of the Vedic music, *praśtāva*, *udgītha*, *pratihāra*, *upadrava* and *nidhāna* were used with their new names, *udgrāha*, *anudgrāha*, *sambandha*, *dhruvaka* and *ābhoga*, as the music-parts or *dhātus* of the *prabandha-gītis*. But their names and forms were again changed to some extent, towards the sixteenth-seventeenth century A.D.

Besides them, we find a systematic order in the forms and divisions of the classical *rāgas* and *gītis*. As regards the evolution of classical types of melodies, we come to know from Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī* that the subordinate *bhāṣā* type of melodies evolved from the ancient parent scales or *gramas*, the *vibhāṣā-rāgas* from the *bhāṣā*

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ones and the *antarabhāṣā-rāgas* from the *vibhāṣā* ones. Śāraṅgdeva brought a more perfect order in the divisions of the *rāgas* and the *prabandha-gītis*. The six kinds of limbs or *aṅgas* of the *prabandha-gītis* evolved at this time and they are : *svara*, *viruda*, *pada*, *tena*, *pāta* and *tāla*. These limbs or *aṅgas* really determined the nature and characteristics of the *gītis*. Gradually the five kinds of *jātis* evolved to specifically classify and determine the musical compositions of the *gītis*, and they were : *medinī*, *ānandī*, *dīpanī*, *bhāvanī* and *tārāvalī* (vide *SR.* canto IV.19.) The musical compositions were mainly divided into two classes, ordered or *niryukta* and without order or *aniryukta*. The three divisions of the *prabandha* type of music evolved and they were of three classes, *sūḍa*, *ālī* and *viprakīrṇa*. From these three classes, $7+24+34=65$ types of new *prabandha-gītis* evolved. From these, many other subordinate types of *prabandha-gītis* came into being. All these classical *prabandhas* were included under three heads, *śuddha*, *chāyālaga* and *saṃkīrṇa* or *kṣudra*. The above-mentioned *dhruvaka* type of the *prabandha-gīti* may be the forerunner of the present *dhruvapada* type of music. This type was revived by Rājā Mān of Gwalior, Nāyaka Gopāl, Bāiju Bāorā and other eminent artists and lovers of music. The *kṣudra-gīti* might have been evolved from the *dhruvaka-prabandha* and from the *kṣudra-gīti* evolved *citrapadā*, *citrakalā*, the present types of modified *dhruvapada* and

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pāñchāli. Regarding the evolution of these types, there are differences of opinion among the scholars. Ghanaśyāma-Narahari of the early eighteenth century mentions the types of the *pāñcālī-gītis* in his *Saṅgītasāra-saṁgraha*. The contribution of Bengal, in the domain of melodies, was also immense.

Besides the *rāgas*, various types of time-measures or *tālas* evolved at this time, with different time-units or *mātrās* like *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta*, different features like *kalā*, *mārga*, *piṇḍa*, *aṅga*, *graha* and different *jātis* like *caturasra*, *tisra*, *miśra*, *khaṇḍa* and *saṃkīrṇa*. Besides various types of lute, flute and drum, a new type of lute or *Veeṇā* was devised by Śāraṅgadeva himself and it was known as the *Nisśaṅka-Veeṅā*.

About the close of the thirteenth century, Āmir Khasrau, the Persian Poet and court-musician of Sultān Ālā-ud-din devised some new types of melody and musical instruments. He introduced some Persian scales and melodies and some of the *Qāwāli* type of regional songs, in Indian classical stock.

In the sixteenth-seventeenth century, Vṛndāvana and Mathurā became new seats of culture of Indian classical music. Goswāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāj, Advaitadāsa Goswāmī, Kṛṣṇadāsa of *Gīta-Prakāśa*, Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī and other Vaiṣṇava savants revived a new style and form of the *prabandha dhruvapada* music. Emperor Akbar helped much to enrich the culture of the

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dhruvapada. Mian Tānsen was a great torch-bearer of the traditional as well as newly moulded form and technique of the *dhruvapada* type, which he received from his saint teacher Swāmī Haridāsa. He introduced the Senī style of music during Akbar's time. Some are of opinion that the Senī style of *dhruvapada* evolved after his death, through his worthy descendants. The contribution of religio-devotional type of music, *bhajana* of Mīrā Bāi, Suradāsa, Kavīra and others were made at this time. A new type of *prabandha* music, *Horī-Dhāmāra* also evolved in connection with the sacred Holi festival of Vṛndāvana.

Gradually the *kheyāl* type of music evolved with a new style and embellishment, by the side of the *dhruvapada*, to suit the taste of the progressive society. It was more imaginative and decorative, but light in its form than the *dhruvapada*. It was first introduced by Sultān Hussan Shirque of Jaunpur and then developed by Sadāraṅg, Adāraṅg and others. Next *ṭhumri*, with its three styles—Lucknow, Banaras and Punjābi—evolved to enrich Indian music and it had an intense aesthetic appeal. Gradually *dādrā*, *sādrā*, *tappā*, *tārāṇā*, *gazal* and such other light but decorative types of music came into being.

As regards the evolution of basic scales or *melas*, we find that from the beginning of the classical age (600 B.C.) the *grāmas* played an important rôle in the basic scales. Afterwards

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the *mūrcchanās* that evolved from the *grāmas*, played the function of those *grāmas*, to determine the specific forms or structures of the *rāgas*. In the fourteenth-sixteenth century, fifteen parent scales or *melas* evolved through Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya, the renowned Vedāntist of the Śaṅkara school. In 1550, twenty basic scales evolved as the source of a host of melodies in the time of Puṇḍarika-Viṭṭhala. Puṇḍarika was contemporary to Emperor Akbar. It should be reminded that new nomenclatures of the scale '*mela*' or '*thāta*' came into being, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) was credited with coining the term '*mela*' and '*thāta*'. We find in his *Rāgabivodha* the lines : '*milanti vargī-bhavanti rāgā yatreti tadāśrayāḥ svara-saṁasthana-viśeṣā melāḥ*; '*thāta*' *iti bhāṣāyāṃ*'.[4] Before him, Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya, Puṇḍarika-Viṭṭhala and other musicologists devised and divided the melodies (*rāgas*), according to the genus-species or *janya-janaka* scheme. Somanāth devised twenty-three parent scales. All the musicologists of that time determined a standard or basic scale (*śuddha-thāta*), for determining the nature of the structure of the *rāgas*. During the time of Paṇḍit Locana-Kavi, Paṇḍit Ahobala, Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya, different numbers of scales evolved as the fountainhead of numerous *rāgas*.

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4. मिलन्ति वर्गीभवन्ति रागा यत्रेति तदाश्रयाः. स्वर-संस्थानविशेषा मेलाः. 'थाट' इति भाषायाम्। —रागविबोध

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In 1620 A.D., during Veṅkatamakhī's time, seventy-two basic scales or *melakartās* evolved in the South Indian system of music, and only nineteen out of them were current in his life-time.

During Kavi Locana's time (middle of the sixteenth-seventeenth century), we find that twelve scales or *saṁsthānas* (as he named the scale) were sufficient to determine the forms of the *rāgas*. Paṇḍit Viṣṇu-nārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe devised ten parent scales and they have been accepted in the present North-Indian Hindusthāni system of music.

As in North India, so we find the evolution of different types of music in South India. Types of music like *kṛti*, *padaṃ*, *varṇaṃ*, *rāga-mālikā*, *jāvāli*, *pallivi*, etc. evolved according to the creative taste of the South Indian society. Different art music like *sañcari-gīti*, *lakṣaṇa-gīti*, *rāgāṅga-rāga-lakṣmaṇa-gīti*, *jātisvara*, *svarajāti* and other different types of *kīrtana* like *divyanāma*, *utsava-sampradāya*, *mānasa-pūjā*, *Vedānta*, etc. and *rāmāyaṇi* type of music evolved. Besides them, various types of folk music like *lāvanī*, *kāvāḍi-indu*, *tappa* and *āmāṇi*, etc. are also worth-mentioning in this connection.

Different types of classical and folk music evolved in different times in Bengal. The *caryā* and *nātha gīti* of the Mahāyāni Buddhists evolved in the eleventh-twelveth century A.D. as religio-devotional songs and they were sung with classical melodies like *ramakiri*, *gurjarī*, *bhairavī*,

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bhairava, vasanta, hindola, mallāri, etc. The classical *tālas* were used in them. The *prabandha-gītis* of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* were remarkable contribution to Indian music. The *rāgas,* used in the *padagītis* of *Gītagovinda,* can correctly be presented even in these days, by changing the tonal arrangements of *mukhāri* (similar to the present form of *kāphī*) to the present standard scale, *vilāvala.* Treatises of the 16th-17th century and especially of Paṇḍit Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa's *Hṛdayakautuka* are very helpful in this respect. As for example, *gurjari-rāga* was in the *gaurī* scale, during the time of Jayadeva (twelfth century A.D.), but it is now in the *bhairava* scale, with *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* as flat or chromatic (*komala*) notes. It should be remembered that in the nineteenth century radical changes overtook scale, melody and note.

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the beginning of the sixteenth century, Ṭhākur Narottama-dāsa devised a new type of classical *kīrtana*, which was known as the *rasa* or *līlā-kīrtana*. It was designed after the form of the *dhruvapada prabandha*, in slow tempo (*vilamvita-laya*). The Vaiṣṇava conference of Khetari is memorable in this connection. The *gouracandrikā* of the *līlā-kīrtana* evolved at this time. In the sixteenth-seventeenth century, there evolved different schools of *padāvalī-kīrtana : manoharasāhi*, *rāṇihāti* or *reṇeti*, *mandāriṇī*, *jhāḍkhandī*, etc. The classical type of *līlā-kīrtana*, devised by Thākur Narottama, was included in the *gaḍerhāti* or *garāṇhāti* school, as it evolved from the Garāṇhāti division. Different patterns of time-measures or *tālas* also evolved to suit the types of *kīrtana*.

Besides *kīrtana*, different types of classico-folk and folk songs evolved and they were : *yātrā*, *kavigāna*, *jhumura*, *yoga* and *bāul gītis*, *bhātivāli*, *jāri*, *sāri*, *manipurī-kīrtana*, etc. The socio-mystic songs of Kaviguru Rabindranāth, Dwijendralāl, Rajanikānta, Atulprasād and Kāzi Nazrul are the treasures of Indian music. The different types of music of Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Himācala-Pradeśa, Kabul, Kāndāhāra and those of the Greater India have also added to the stock of Indian music. In the early twentieth century, the modern type of music evolved from the mixture of different tunes, classical and folk, getting free scope in the hands of the

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creative artists of modern India. New types of music will continue to be evolved in future, as man's intuition and creative power grow or change. The music of India will move forward with its new and novel forms and techniques, as progression and change form the stuff of the society.

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Chapter Four

EVOLUTION OF RĀGA

The story of the evolution of the *rāgas* is generally connected with a mythico-religious legend, where a divine couple, Śiva and Pārvatī or Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī plays an important rôle. But this legend had its origin in the latter period, when the genus-species (*sāmānya-viśeṣa*) or cause-effect (*kārya-kāraṇa*) principle came into being, in the domain of Indian music. This ideational principle was more materialized when the male-female scheme of the *rāgas* was adopted during the sixteenth-seventeenth century. The mediaeval authors of music did not overlook the scientific and psychological principles behind the evolution of the *rāgas*. At that time they adopted, in their process, the mythico-religious idea for spiritualizing the sphere of Indian music. We find the influence of two main religious schools, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, originated from Śiva and Viṣṇu—one presiding deity of the non-Aryans and the other, the god of the Aryans. But this mythico-religious element was quite unknown in Indian music, in the beginning of the Christian era. In the fifth-seventh century A.D., we find the evolution of philosophical ideas in Indian music, which was connected with the evolution of microtones (*śruti*) and

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tones (*svara*) from the causal sound or *nāda*. We find this idea clearly in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī* when he says,

Idānīṃ sampravakṣyāmi nāda-lakṣmaṇa-
muttamaṃ /
Na nādena vinā gītaṃ na nādena vinā
svaraḥ // etc.[1]

Some are of opinion that the post-Bharata musicologists, like Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Mataṅga and others got this philosophical idea from the great Epic, *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.), which states,

Tatraika-guṇa ākāśaḥ śabda ityeva sa smṛtaḥ /

* * * *

Ṣaḍjarṣbhaḥ gāndhāro madhyamaḥ-pañcama
smṛtaḥ //
Ataḥ paraṃ tu vijñeyo niṣādo dhaivatastathā //

* * * *

Evaṃ vahuvidho jñeyaḥ śabda ākaśasambhavaḥ /
Ākāśamuttamaṃ bhūtaṃ ahaṃkārastataḥ paraḥ /
Ahaṁkārāt parā buddhiḥ buddherātmā tataḥ
paraḥ //[2]

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1. इदानीं सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि नाद-लक्षणमुत्तमम् ।
न नादेन विना गीतं न नादेन विना स्वरः ॥
—बृहद्देशी

2. तत्रैकगुण आकाशः शब्द इतीव स स्मृतः ।
तस्य शब्दस्य वक्ष्यामि विस्तरेण वहून् गुणान् ॥
षड्जर्षभः गान्धारो मध्यमः पञ्चम स्मृतः ।
अतः परं तु विज्ञेयो निषादो धैवतस्तथा ॥
इष्टानिष्टशब्दस्य संहतः प्रतिभानवान् ।
एवं वहुविधो ज्ञेयः शब्द आकाश-सम्भवः ॥

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That is, sound is the product of the *ākāśa* i.e., ether or wind. The ether is known as the fine matter, but the ego is finer than the ether. Again *buddhi* or shining intelligence is finer than the ego, and, in the final analysis, it has been seen that Ātman or the immortal soul is finer than the intelligence. The contention of the *Mahābhārata* is that the causal sound or *nāda* is consequently the deathless Ātman, and all the gross phenomena evolved from it.

Mataṅga also describes about the causal sound or *nāda*, from which music, with all its manifestations evolved. He says that the *nāda* as the determinate (*saguṇa*) Brahman, shines as Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu, the preserver and Maheśvara, the destroyer.

At any rate the *rāgas* evolved through the process of gradual evolution. As for example, from the pure type of the *jatirāgas*, the mixed *jatirāgas* evolved; from both these types of the *jātirāgas*, the *grāmarāgas* evolved and from the *grāmarāgas* evolved the formalized *deśī rāgas*.

In the beginning of the Classical Age (600-500 B.C.) and at least during the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), we find that the *rāgas* (*jātirāgas*) had their seats or bases in the *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra*. The

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आकाशमुत्तमं भूतम् अहंकारस्ततः परः ।
अहंकारात् परा बुद्धिः बुद्धेरात्मा ततः परः ॥
—महाभारत, आश्वमेधिकपर्व, ५३।५२-५५

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grāmas or the cluster of different sets of seven notes were recognized at that time as the basic scales. The spanning of the notes or *mūrcchanās* were also prevalent in the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and we get the reference to them as '*sthāna-mūrcchana-kovidau*'[3], etc. In the Gupta period (320-600 A.D.), we find that poet Kālidāsa (100 B.C.—400/450 A.D.) also mentions the *grāmas* and *mūrcchanās* : '*mūrcchanāṃ vismarantī*'[4] or '*mūrcchanā-parigṛhīta kaiśikaiḥ*'[5], etc. Mallināth, the commentator, says about the *ślokas* as '*utsaṅge vā malina-vasane * * mūrcchanāṃ vismarantī*'.[6] He mentions :

Ṣaḍja-madhyama-nāmānau grāmau gāyanti mānavāḥ /
Na tu gāndhāra-nāmānāṃ sa labhyo deva-yonibhiḥ //[7]

From the context of the *śloḳas* it is understood that the *gāndhāra-grāma* was only practised by the Gandharvas and Kinnaras, the semi-divine music-loving people of the north-western region of India, and the three *grāmas* with their constituent twenty-one ($7 \times 3 = 21$) *mūrcchanās*

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3. स्थान-मूर्छनकोविदौ ।
4. मूर्छनां विस्मरन्ति ।
5. मूर्छना-परिगृहीत कैशिकैः ।
6. उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने * * मूर्छनां विस्मरन्ती (—उत्तरमेघ ४१) ।
7. षड्ज-मध्यमनामानौ ग्रामौ गायन्ति मानवाः ।
न तु गान्धारनामानं स लभ्यो दैवयोनिभिः ॥

—Vide also Prajñānānanda : *Saṅgīta O Saṁskṛti*, (Beng.), Vol. II, pp. 400-401.

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were prevalent during the time of Kālidāsa. Gradually the *grāmas* were replaced by *mūrcchanās*, which were prevalent long before Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.). Afterwards the *mūrcchanās* were again replaced by *melas* or *melakartās*, during the time of the Paṇḍit Somanāth, in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

It may be asked whether the *jātis* were the *rāgas* (melody-types) by themselves or not. But what is a '*rāga*' ? Bharata (second century A.D.) has not given any definition of a *rāga*, though he mentions the word '*rāga*' at least five times, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*. We get a clear definition of it in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddéśī*, in the fifth-seventh century A.D. He says that the sound, which tinges i.e., attracts and makes an impression upon the mind of the living beings, is known as '*rāga*' : '*rañjako janacittānāṃ sa ca rāga udāhṛtaḥ.*' It has already been said that according to Kallināth, a *gīti* is called a *rāga*, when it is possessed of ten specific characteristics : '*daśa-lakṣaṇa-lakṣitaṃ gītaṃ rāga-śabdenābhidhiyate*'. The ten characteristics or essintials (*daśa-lakṣaṇas*) are described by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* as,

Grahāṁśau tāra-mandrau ca nyāsopanyāsa eva ca /
Alpatvaṃ ca vahutvaṃ ca ṣāḍavauḍavite tathā //[8]

The time of Bharata was undoubtedly an epoch-making one, as some fundamental laws

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8. ग्रहांशौ तार-मन्द्रौ च न्यासोपन्यास एव च।
अल्पत्वं च वहुत्वं च षाड़वौड़विते तथा॥

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and systems of Indian music were made with a fresh outlook, for better or fuller realization of music. He adopted ten essentials which were the notes, initial, sonant, higher, lower, closing or concluding, medial, rare, abundant, hexatonic and pentatonic. Matańga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) also followed the scheme of ten essentials. Some maintained different views, as we know from Śāraṅgadeva's statement: *'kāpītyevamāhustratodaśa'*,[9] adding three more, namely *saṁnyāsa, vinyāsa* and *antaramārga*. But Kallināth said: *'yadyapi Bharata-Matańgādibhiḥ saṁnyāsa-vinyāsayor vidāryāśritatvād apanyāse'ntarbhāveṇāntaramārgasya api aṁśādi-avayavānāmanyo * * pṛthaguddeśo nāpekṣita, iti daśakaṃ jāti-lakṣaṇamityuktaṃ'*.[10] Kallināth's contention was that as Bharata, Matańga and other musicologists included *saṁnyāsa* and *vinyāsa* in the category of *apanyāsa*, and *atantaramārga* in that of *aṁśa*, so they were not regarded as separate essentials, and, therefore, ten essentials were accepted by all.

The essentials are the determining characteristics of the *rāgas*. Now, what do we mean by *graha* and *aṁśa*? The word *graha* connotes the idea of the initial note, from where the manifestation of a *rāga* begins, or wherefrom the song or the part of the song takes its start:

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9. कापीतेत्यवमाहुस्त्रयोदश।

10. यद्यपि भरत-मतङ्गादिभिः संन्यासविन्यासयोर्विदार्याश्रितत्वाद् अपन्यासेऽन्तर्भावेणान्तरमार्गस्य अपि अंशादि-अवयवानामन्यो * * पृथगुद्देशो नापेक्षित, इति दशकं जातिलक्षणमित्युक्तम्।

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'yat pravṛttaṃ bhaved gānaṃ',[11] whereas *aṁśa* denotes the dominant or sonant, where a *rāga* takes on its fuller manifestation and from where it begins : *'tatra aṁśo nāma * *, yasmin vasati rāgastu yasmāccaiva pravartate'*.[12] It should be remembered that Bharata took *graha* and *aṁśa*, in the same sense, which is evident from his definition of both *graha* and *aṁśa* :

Grahastu sarva-jātināmaṁśa eva hi kīrtitaḥ /
Yat pravṛttaṃ bhaved-gānaṃ so'ṁśo graha-
vikalpitaḥ //[13]

It is also proved by the definition of the sonant itself : *'yasmin vasti rāgastu'* = *aṁśa*, and *'yasmāt caiva pravartate'* = *graha*.[14]

During the time of Mataṅga of the *Bṛhaddeśī*, we find some changes in the social environment as well as in the taste and temperament of the people. Mataṅga dealt with the problems of *graha* and *aṁśa*, in a very ingenious way. He said that the starting note of the *jātirāga* is the initial or *graha* : *'tatrādau jātyādi-prayogo gṛhyte yena asau grahaḥ'*[15], but it is not prominent like *aṁśa* : *'graha hi apradhānabhutaḥ'*, whereas the sonant, being universal and cause of the manifestation

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11. यत् प्रवृत्तम् भवेद् गानम् ।
12. तत्र अंशो नाम * *, यस्मिन वसति रागस्तु यस्माच्चैव प्रवर्तते ।
13. ग्रहस्तु सर्वजातीनामंश एव हि कीर्तितः ।
यत् प्रवृत्तं भवेद्गानं सोऽंशो ग्रह-विकल्पितः ॥
14. यस्मिन् वसति रागस्तु = अंश, and यस्माच्चैव प्रवर्तते = ग्रह ।
15. तत्रादौ जात्यादि-प्रयोगो गृह्यते येन असौ ग्रहः ।

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of *rāga*, is prominent : '*rāga-janakatvād vyāpakatvā-cca aṁśasya eva prādhānyaṃ*'.[16] Further, Mataṅga said that though the ancient authorities like Bharata and others considered both the initial and prominent notes as essential for the *jātirāgas*, yet they were interpreted in relation to dominant and subordinate i.e. *saṁvādī* and *anuvādī* notes : '*yadyapi sarva-jātināṃ grahoṁśaśca pradhānībhūta ityutsarga-siddhaṃ, tathāpi saṁvādi-anuvādi-vidhinā codyate*'.[17] Gradually the *aṁśa* became familiar with the new name of *vādī*, which means that which says about or manifests the *rāga* : '*vadanāt rāgajanakatvād vā vādī*'.[18].

The new nomenclature of the dominant note perhaps evolved during Mataṅga's time, in the fifth-seventh century A.D., and both the terminologies, *aṁśa* and *vādī* were current in Śāraṅgadeva's time, in the early thirteenth century A.D. Kallināth said that the word *vādī* conveyed the same idea of creating pleasing sensations, as the word *aṁśa* did : '*sa vādī yogyatā-vaśāt aṁśaḥ syāt, rakti-vyañjakatvāt*'.[19] But, yet, there was a difference between *aṃśā* and *vādī*, though Bharata used them in the same sense. He said '*nanu aṁśo graha iti Bharatādeśena*

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16. रागजनकत्वाद् व्यापकत्वाच्च अंशस्य एव प्राधान्यम् ।

17. यद्यपि सर्वजातीनां ग्रहोंशश्च प्रधानीभुत इत्युत्सर्गसिद्धम्, तथापि संवादि-अनुवादि-विधिना चोद्यते ।

18. वदनात् रागजनकत्वाद् वा वादी ।

19. स वादी योग्यतावशात् अंशः स्यात्, रक्ति-व्यञ्जकत्वात् ।

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sarveṣu api aṁśa-dharmeṣu grahasya prāptaṃ, na kevalaṃ vāditvameva dharmaḥ, api tu vāditvādi-catuṣṭayamapīti tayorbheda iti'.[20] Siṁhabhupāla supported this view of Kallināth.

Again we find a peculiarity in the application of both the initial and dominant notes, in the *jātīrāga*, as Bharata considered them as more than one. As for example, the *jātirāga*, *ṣāḍjī*, was possessed of three initial notes and three dominant notes, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *dhaivata*. Such was also the case with other *jātirāgas*, both pure and mixed. The number of the initial and dominant notes might also be considered as more than three, and according to Bharata the total number of the dominant notes, as used in the ancient *ṣaḍjagrāma* and *madhyamagrāma*, were 63 : *'dvai grāmakīnāṃ jātīnāṃ sarvāsāmapi * * aṁśa-stri-ṣaṣṭhirvijñeyaḥ.'*[21] That was the case with *graha* : *'caiva tathā grahāḥ.'*[22]

We know from the cultural histories of the ancient nations of the world that some of them, in the Near East and the West, adopted the scheme of the initial, final and dominant notes, in their systems of music, but it should be noticed that they rarely considered the same note as both initial and dominant, as Bharata did, and

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20. ननु अंशो ग्रह इति भरतादेशेन सर्वेषु अपि अंशधर्मेषु ग्रहस्य प्राप्तं, न केवलं वादित्वमेव धर्मः, आपि तु वादित्वादि-चतुष्टयमपीति तयोर्भेद इति।

21. द्वै ग्रामकीनां जातीनां सर्वासामपि * * अंशस्त्रिषष्टिर्विज्ञेयोः।

22. चैव तथा ग्रहाः।

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there lies the fundamental difference between the system of Bharata and those of the foreign nations. Besides, there were also other differences between the ancient system of Indian music and those of the Near East and the West.

We have already said that Bharata's scheme of *graha* of the *rāga* was modified in the latter musicology, to some extent. Śāraṅgadeva did not admit Bharata's doctrine: '*tatra yaḥ svaro'ṁśaḥ sa eva grahaḥ*'.[23] He rather modified the scheme or system and said: '*tatra aṁśa-grahayoranyataroktau ubhaya-graḥah*[24] (SR. 1. 7. 31). Kallināth made it explicit, when he said: '*yatra kvacit aṁśa eva ucyate—na grahaḥ, yatra ca graha eva ucyate—na tu aṁśaḥ*'.[25] So we find that the scheme of the essentials were modified from time to time, to suit the system of music, according to the taste and temperament of the changing society.

Regarding (3) *nyāsa* or concluding note, Bharata said: '*nyāso hi aṅga-samāptau*'.[26] The *aṅga* means 'part' or portion of the song or musical composition. That is, where the manifestation of a *rāga* or an *ālāpa* ends, it is called *nyāsa*. (4) The *apanyāsa* means the medial stop. Mataṅga said: '*yatra samāptamiva gītaṃ prati-*

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23. तत्र यः स्वरोऽंशः स एव ग्रहः।
24. तत्र अंश-ग्रहयोरन्यतरोक्तौ उभयग्रहः।
25. यत्र क्वचित् अंश एव उच्यते—न ग्रहः, यत्र च ग्रह एव उच्यते—न तु अंशः।
26. न्यासो हि अङ्गसमाप्तौ।

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bhāsate so'panyāsaḥ'.[27] The *apanyāsa* appears in the *vidāri* or compositions of the songs. It forms generally the former part of the melody or song: *'aṅgamadhye apanyāsa eva syāt'*.[28] (5) The *saṁnyāsa* means a note which is not antagonistic to the sonant, and remains in the part of the composition of the song. (6) The *vinyāsa* note functions like the *saṁnyāsa*, but it remains in the latter part of the song. (7) The *alpatva* means rarity i.e., rare use of the note in the *rāga*. It is of two kinds, *anabhyāsa* and *laṅghana*. In *anabhyāsa-alpatva*, notes are dropped other than the sonance, and when the note rarely touches the composition of the *rāga*, it is called *laṅghana-alpatva*: *'svarāṇāṃ laṅghanāt anabhyasācca sakṛduccāraṇaṃ'*.[29] (8) The *vahutva* means abundance of the notes, in the *rāga*. (9) The *antaramārga* generally avoids *nyāsa*, *apanyāsa*, *vinyāsa*, *saṁnyāsa*, *graha* and *aṁśa*, and from time to time incorporates the dual functions of the *alpatva*, mentioned above, in consonance with *aṁśa*, etc. (10) The *tāra* is the note of the higher octave (*saptaka*), and (11) the *mandra*, of the lower octave. (12) The *ṣāḍavatva* and (13) the *auḍavatva* i.e., hexatonic and pentatonic forms of the *rāgas* are constituted out of six and five notes respectively. These last two essentials constitute the patterns of the

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27. यत्र समाप्तमिव गीतं प्रतिभासते सोऽपन्यासः ।
28. अङ्गमध्ये अपन्यास एव स्यात् ।
29. स्वराणां लङ्घनात् अनभ्यासाच्च सकृत्-उच्चारणम् ।

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rāgas. Śāraṅgadeva also adopted the scheme of ten essentials in *ālāpa* and *ālapti*, for the manifestations (*avirbhāva*) of the *rāgas*.

Now, it is clear that the ten essentials, as devised or adopted by Bharata, in the second century A.D., or the thirteen essentials, as adopted by some post-Bharata musicologists, were the determining characteristics of the *jāti-rāgas*, *grāmarāgas*, and *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā*, *antarabhāṣā*, and all kinds of *aṅga* and formalized *deśī rāgas*. But after thirteenth-fourteenth century, they were not recognized as essential, and in the nineteenth-twentieth century, when there came a great change in the domain of North Indian classical music, the ten essentials have been, truly speaking, limited only to the theoretical knowledge of music.

Bharata also adopted the scheme of cycle of the fifth and cycle of the fourth, for the determination of the *rāgas*. The same process is found in the Pythagorian system of music, that evolved in about 582—507 B.C. Pythagoras constructed his diatonic scale, with the help of the series of fifths = F + C + G + D + A + E + B. Edward Macdowell says in his *Critical and Historical Essays* (1912) : 'It was said of Pythagoras that he had studied twelve years with the Magi in the temples of Babylon ; had lived among the Druids of Gaul and the Indian Brahmins ; had gone among the priests of Egypt, witnessed their most secret temple rites'. In

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ancient Greece there were in use over fifteen different modes (scales), each one common to the part of the country, in which it originated. At the time of Pythagoras there were seven modes in general, and each mode or scale was composed of two sets of 4 notes = 4 + 4 = 8. Theodore M. Finney is of opinion that Pythagoras found the tone relationships of the octave, the fifth and the fourth, correspond to the numerical relationships 2 : 1, 3 : 2, 4 : 2. He supposed that these three simple ratios were the basis of a principle which could be extended to define the intervals of the third, the sixth, and the second. Now cycle of the fifth and cycle of the fourth, as observed by Pythagoras (about 582-591 B.C.), were exactly the same as the *ṣaḍja-pañcama* and *ṣaḍja-madhyama bhāvas*, adopted by Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, in the second century A.D. Some are of opinion that Bharata borrowed the scheme of cycles of the fifth and the fourth, together with that of the essentials (*daśa-lakṣaṇas*),[30] from the Greek system,

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30. The *daśa-lakṣaṇas* are the ten essentials that qualify and determine the real nature of the *rāgas*. The '*lakṣaṇa*' connotes the idea of a name or a thing. The derivative meaning of *lakṣaṇa* is 'लक्षणात् तु अर्थदर्शनात्' or 'लक्ष्यते ज्ञायतेऽनेन इति लक्षणम्'। That is, that which enlightens, is *lakṣaṇa*. The Indian logic defines it as इतरभेद-अनुमापकम् व्यवहार-प्रयोजकञ्च'। The *lakṣaṇa*, therefore, falls into the category that differentiates a thing at first, and then makes it known for our practical purpose. Bopadeva defines it as an

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modified by Pythagoras. But it seems to be an assumptive view, as similar ideas might simultaneously evolve in two or more civilized countries. There is no genuine proof that one has been fashioned on the ideal or out of the materials of the other. Again from the history of the world it is known that there were many interchanges of ideas and cultures between different civilized countries of the East and the West. The fact of one country being benefited by the other, in the fields of art, science and culture, does not prove blind imitation of the one by the other. Regarding the antiquity of Indian music, Swāmī Abhedānanda says: 'The dawn of Aryan civilization broke for the first time on the horizon, not of Greece or Rome, not of Arabia or Persia, but of India, which may be called the motherland of metaphysics, philosophy, logic, astronomy, science, art, music and medicine, as well as of truly ethical science and religion. * * The Hindus first developed the science of music from the

'*abhijñānaṃ*' or a kind of knowledge that manifests an object. Therefore *lakṣaṇa* is known as a determining principle that constitutes an inherent and indispensible part of an object. It assumes the aspects of both qualitative relation and quality itself, that make an object known what really it is, and this is the psychological value and logical concept of a *lakṣaṇa* of a thing or an object. Bharata describes ten *lakṣaṇas*, in his *Nātyaśāstra* to determine the *jātis* as the *rāgas*, that please and soothe the hearts of men and animals.

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chanting of the Vedic hymns. The Sāma Veda was especially meant for music. And the scale with seven notes and three octaves was known in India centuries before the Greeks had it. Probably the Greeks learnt it from the Hindus. It will be interesting to you to know that Wagner was indebted to the Hindu science of music, especially for his principal idea of the 'leading motive'; and this is perhaps the reason why it is difficult for many Western people to understand Wagner's music. He became familiar with Eastern music through Latin translations, and his conversation on this subject with Schopenhauer is probably already familiar to you'.[31]

Nārada of the *Śikṣā* (first century A.D.) mentions ten determining qualities (*daśa-guṇas*) of the *gītis* and not of the *rāgas*. Śāraṅgadeva also describes these ten qualities in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (vide SR. 4. 373-378), and he specially lays stress upon the qualities, *mādhuryaṃ* or *madhuraṃ* (sweetness) and *lāvaṇya* (lustre), which intensify the power of the *gītis* or *rāgas* that please and soothe the minds of the people: '*madhuraṃ dhūrya-lāvaṇya-pūrṇaṃ jana-manoharaṃ*.'[32] Now, it should be mentioned in this connection that Mataṅga expounds seven types of songs or *gītis* in terms of the melodies

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31. Vide Swāmi Abhedānanda: *India and Her People* (1940), pp. 216, 221.

32. मधुरं धूर्य-लावण्य-पूर्णं जन-मनोहरम्।

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or *rāgas*, and they were : *śuddhā, bhinnā or bhinnakā, gauḍī, rāga, sādhāraṇi, bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā*. At that time (fifth-seventh century) it was the custom to describe the *rāgas* in terms of the *gītis* and vice versa. And though Nārada determines ten qualities of the *gītis* and not of the clearly defined *rāgas*, yet it should be understood that the qualities are meant for the *rāgas* also. Now, all these ten qualities, together with the ten characteristics (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) determine the intrinsic nature of a *rāga*.

Did these qualities and characteristics exist in the *jātis*, as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* ? Vālmīki says :

Pāṭhye geye ca madhuraṃ pramāṇai stribhi-
ranvitaṃ /
Jātibhiḥ saptabhiryuktaṃ tantri-laya-sama-
nvitaṃ //
Rasaiḥ śṛṅgāra-karuṇa-hāsya-raudra-bhayānakaiḥ /
Vīrādibhir-rasairyuktaṃ kāvyametadgāyatāṃ //
Tau tu gāndharva-tattvajñau sthāna-mūrcchana-
kovidau /
Bhrātarau svara-sampannau gāndharvāviva
rūpiṇau //[33]

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33. पाठ्ये गेये च मधुरं प्रमाणैस्त्रिभिरन्वितम् ।
जातिभिः सप्तभिर्युक्तं तन्त्रीलयसमन्वितम् ॥
रसैः शृङ्गारकरुणहास्यरौद्रभयानकैः ।
वीरादिभि र्रसैर्युक्तं काव्यमेतदगायताम् ॥
तौ तु गान्धर्वतत्त्वज्ञौ स्थानमूर्च्छनकोविदौ ।
भ्रातरौ स्वरसम्पन्नौ गान्धर्वाविव रूपिनौ ॥
रूपलक्षणसंपन्नौ मधुरस्वरभाषिणौ ।

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Both the commentaries *Śiromaṇi* and *Govinda* state that the seven *jātis* were pure (*śuddha*) in their types. They also quote the citation of the great authority, Śāndilya who says :

Sarva-gīta-samādhāro jātirityabhidhīyate //[34]
Ṣāḍjī cāvatha naiṣādī dhaivatī pañcamī tathā /
Mādhyamī caiva gāndhārī saptamī tvārṣabhī matā /

That is, pure type of seven *jātis*, as described by Vālmīki, were *ṣāḍjī*, *ārṣabhī*, *gāndhārī*, *mādhyamī*, *pañcamī*, *dhaivatī* and *naiṣādī*. They had their full play in the three octaves, bass, medium and high. They were possessed of *mūrcchanās*, three registers, rhythm and tempo, and eight emotional sentiments and moods. Regarding '*pāṭhya*',[35] Abhinavagupta says in his commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* that when the composition (*sāhitya*) is possessed of six *alaṁkāras*, like seven *deśī* (*laukika*) notes, three octaves, four *varṇas*, two kinds of *kāku*, *sākāṁkṣā* (with motive) and *nirākāṁkṣā* (without motive), eight aesthetic sentiments, and high and low intonations, it is called '*pāṭhya*', or '*geya*' : '*svara-sthāna-varṇa-kākkalaṁkārāṅgāni ṣaṭ atrālaṁkāra-śabdena vivakṣitāni, etairhi*

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34. सर्वगीत समाधारो जातिरित्यभिधीयते ।
षाड्जी चावथ नैषादी धैवती पञ्चमी तथा ।
माध्यमी चैव गान्धारी सप्तमी त्वार्षभी मता ॥

35. Regarding '*pāṭhya*', the commentator states : 'तेन पाठे गाने चेत्यर्थः', i.e., *pāṭha* means *gāna* or song.

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bhūṣitaṃ kāvya-pāṭhyamucyate'.[36] To determine the etymological significance of the word '*pāṭhya*', he says : '*svarāṇāṃ yadrakti-pradhānatva-manuraṇa-namayaṃ tattyāgenocca-nīca-madhyama-sthāna-sparśita-mātraṃ pāṭhopayogīti darśitaṃ. Yadi hi svaragatā raktiḥ*', etc.[37] From this it is understood that when the combination of notes, underlying the *jātis* or *pāṭhyas*, contains the propensity of creating pleasing and soothing sensations in the minds of living beings, it is known as a '*rāga*'. There remain the vibrating waves of the sweet sounds (*anuraṇana vṛtti or śakti*), in the *rāga*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes the intrinsic nature and power of the *jatis* :

Tau cāpi madhuraṃ raktaṃ sva-cittāyata-
ni'svanaṃ //
Tantrī-laya-vadatyartham viśrutārthamagāyatāṃ/
Hlādayat sarva-gātrāni manāṁsi hṛdayāni ca /
Śrotrāśraya-sukhaṃ geyaṃ tadubhau jana-
saṁsadi //[38]

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36. (क) स्वरस्थानवर्णकाकुसंकाराङ्गानि षट् अत्रालंकारशब्देन विवक्षितानि, एतैर्हि भूषितं काव्य-पाठ्यमुच्यते।

(ख) अत एवाह पाठ्यगुणानिति गुणाः उपकारकाः, यदुपकृतं काव्यं पाठ्यं भवतीत्यर्थः। * * यदि हि स्वरगतारक्तिः पाठ्ये प्राधान्येनावलम्ब्येत तदा गानक्रियासौ स्यात्, न पाठः। पूर्णस्वरत्वाभावादङ्गानां भेद इति चेत्, न, अपूर्णस्वरत्वेऽपि गानत्वप्रतिज्ञानात्, षाड़वौड़ुवितयोः विचतुरस्वरत्वेऽपि गानप्रतीतिभवत्येव * *।

37. (क) स्वराणां यद्रक्तिप्रधानत्वमनुरणनमयं तत्त्यागेनोच्चनीचमध्यमस्थानस्पर्शितमात्रं पाठ्योपयोगीति दर्शितम्। यदि हि स्वरगता रक्तिः * *।

(ख) रक्तिप्रधानत्वमनुरणनमयम्।

38. तौ चापि मधुरं रक्तं स्वचित्तायतनिःस्वनम्॥
तन्त्रीलयवदत्यर्थं विश्रुतार्थमगायताम्।

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Here the words '*madhuraṃ*', '*raktaṃ*', '*hlādayat sarva-gātrāni manāṁsi hṛdayāni ca*', '*śrotrāśrayaṃ sukhaṃ*', '*śrotṛnāṃ harsa-vardhanaṃ*', etc. clearly express the same meaning as '*rajyate yena yaḥ kaścit*',[39] '*rañjako jana-cittānāṃ*',[40] etc., mentioned by Mataṅga in the *Bṛhaddeśī*.

Regarding the last *śloka* of the first canto of the fourth chapter: '*hlādayat sarva-gātrāni manāṁsi hṛdayāni ca*', the commentary *Śiromaṇi* states: '*śrotrāśraya-sukhaṃ śrotraṃ karṇa-saṅkuli āśrayo yasya tacchrotrāśrayaṃ śrotendriyaṃ tasya sukhaṃ yasmāt tat. Sarva-gātrāni nikhilāvayavān manāṁsi hṛdayānī * * hlādayat geyaṃ gānaṃ*', etc.[41] The commentary *Bhuṣaṇa* also admits: * * *hlādayat sukhayat śrotrāśraya-sukhaṃ śrotraṃ karṇaśaṅkuli tadāśrayaṃ śrotrendriyaṃ tat sukhaṃ * * geyaṃ gānaṃ * *.*[42] From these statements it appears that the *jātis*, as mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, were no other than the *rāgas*. Some are of opinion that the pleasing and soothing capacities are not the only qualities for determining the

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ह्लादयत्सर्वगात्राणि मनांसि हृदयानि च ॥
श्रोत्राश्रयसुखं गेयं तदुभौ जनसंसदि ।

39. रज्यते येन यः कश्चित् ।

40. (क) रञ्जको जनचित्तानां ।
(ख) रञ्जनाज्जायते रागः ।

41. श्रोत्राश्रय-सुखं श्रोत्रं कर्णशङ्कुलि आश्रयो यस्य तच्छ्रोत्राश्रयं श्रोत्रेन्द्रियं तस्य सुखं यस्मात् तत् । सर्वगात्राणि निखिलावयवान मनांसि हृदयानि * * ह्लादयत् गेयं गानम् ।
—शिरोमणिटीका

42. ह्लादयत् सुखयत् श्रोत्राश्रयसुखं श्रोत्रं कर्णशङ्कुलि तदाश्रयं श्रोत्रेन्द्रियं तत् सुखं * * गेयं गानम् ।
—भूषणटीका

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nature of the *rāgas*, but ten characteristics like initial (*graha*) and final (*nyāsa*), etc. notes are also necessary, together with the harmonic relations or consonance (*svara-saṁvāda*) between the notes, first and fourth (*ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*), and first and fifth (*ṣaḍja* and *pañcama*). But the ten characteristics (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) of a *rāga*, as devised or discoursed by Bharata, are of later origin (second century A.D.). Previously i.e. before the Christian era, the nature of melodies were known or determined by the ten qualities (*daśa-guṇas*), as described by Nārada of the *Śikṣā*.[43] They were known as pleasing and soothing propensities. Kallināth admits that as the *grāmarāgas* are possessed of *tinging* i.e. pleasing quality, they are known as *rāgas*: '*tāsāmapi rañjanāt rāgatvaṃ ca voddhavyaṃ*'.[44]

The notes of the *rāgas* are also composed of some pitches, having pleasing sweet vibrations (*anuraṇana*), and each note is possessed of some aesthetic sentiments that bring life to the *rāgas*. As for example, *ṣaḍja* induces the heroic (*veera*), furious (*raudra*) and amazing (*adbhuta*) emotions, *ṛṣabha* has an appeal to the emotion of fearfulness (*bhayānaka*), *gāndhāra* appeals to the sense of pathos or *karuṇa*, *madhyama* and *pañchama* appeal to the sentiments of the basic creative impulse

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43. Śāraṅgadeva also describes these ten qualities of the *rāga*, in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, IV. 373—378.

44. तासामपि रञ्जनात् रागत्वं च वोद्धव्यम्।

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(*śṛṅgāra*) or the humorous (*hāsya*), etc. Nārada describes five kinds of subtle notes, which form the genus of the latter evolved twenty-two microtones (*śrutis*), as described by Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The genus-species scheme was the source of the living emotions of the *rāgas*.

Indian music possesses a spirit of its own. It is synthetic and contemplative, and so its tendency is inwarding and concentrating. The microtones are the basic constituents of the seven tones, and Dattila calls them *avadhāna* or rapt attention, to be used in the *gāndharva-gāna*. The microtones are saturated with emotional sentiments (*rasas*), and though they create different moods in different settings of notes, yet they are balanced in a concentrated peaceful state that brings the divergent modifications of the mind to meditation, leading to the attainment of Godconsciousness. The *rāgas* are, in truth, the different settings of living emotions that work as means to an end. The permanent or *sthāyi varṇas* of the *rāgas* and the *alaṁkāras*, like *prasannādi*, *prasannānta*, etc. create *prasāda* or balance of mind, which promises the sincere artists and lovers of music permanent peace and tranquil happiness even in this earth, full of sorrows and tears.

Now, from this viewpoint it will not be an unreasonable hypothesis that both the pre-historic and Vedic music were possessed of qualities, like *madhura*, *rakta*, *prasanna*, etc. and aesthetic sentiments, which used to create

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pleasing and inspiring sensations in the mind of living beings. The tunes of the seven-stringed lute or *Veenā*, and crude flute, discovered from the mounds of the pre-historic Indus Valley cities, had in them the charming power and pleasing quality. The flutes, lutes and drums used to accompany the vocal music which was much more developed than the ancient primitive music of the savage nations. In the Vedic time, music was cultured with seven notes and different combinations of them used to create some tonal designs or forms, which might have been known as melodies. The Vedic music had also its own grammar, which was divided into *Śikṣā* and *Prāti-śākhya*. It observed the rules and prescribed methods, for singing and chanting the *sāmagānas*, and for that purpose it used different metres, registers, rhythm and tempo, and different emotional sentiments. So it can be assumed that though the pre-historic and Vedic music were not possessed of the sonant-consonant (*vādī-samvādī*) relation and the scheme of ten determining characteristics (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) that evolved in later time, yet they were not devoid of some pleasing melodic patterns. Let us, therefore, leave this very controversial matter to the future historians of music.

This much is quite certain that there were melody-types or *rāgas* in the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), in the form of the *jātis*. They were

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known as the basic *rāgas*. In the *Mahābhārata* and *Khila-Harivaṁśa*, we find the descriptions of the *grāmarāgas*, which evolved from the *jātis* or *jātirāgas* : '*jāti-sambhūtatvāt grāmarāgāni*'. Perhaps there were six main *grāmarāgas* ('*ṣaḍgrāmarāgādi-samādhi-yuktāṃ*') and they were fully played in the *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra* ('*ā-gāndhāra-grāma-rāgaṃ gaṅgāvataranaṃ tathā*'). A reference to Brahmā or Brahmābharata, the first promulgator of classical *gāndharva* type of music, can be traced in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*[45] and Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*.[46] Brahmā says that there were only five *grāmarāgas*, used as stage-songs (*nāṭyagītis*), and they were : *saḍjagrāma*, *madhyamagrāma*, *sādhārita*, *kaiśika-madhyamā* and *kaiśika*.[47] The time of Brahmābharata is ascribed to 600-500 B.C. During the time of *Mahābhārata-Harivaṁśa* (300-200 B.C.) the *grāmarāga*, *ṣāḍava* probably evolved and was added to the group of the five *grāmarāgas*. In the *Nāradīśikṣā*, we find again the seven *grāmarāgas*, which were current even in the seventh-ninth century A.D., as is evidenced by the Kuḍimiyāmalai Cave Inscription of South India.

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45. Vide *NS.* (*Kāśī* ed.), 32.453-454.

46. Vide *Bṛhaddeśī* (Travancore ed.), p. 87.

47. सुखे तु मध्यमग्रामः षड्जं प्रतिसुखे श्रुतः ।
साधारितं तथा गर्मे मर्शे कैशिकमध्यमः ॥
कैशिकश्च तथा कार्यो गानं निर्वहणे बुधैः ।
सान्धहशाश्रयश्चैव रसभावसमन्वितः ॥

This *śloka* has been quoted by Mataṅga in his *Bṛhaddeśī*, in a different way, and Mataṅga mentions the name of Brahmā, as its compilor.

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Dr. Kriṣṇasvāmī Aiyangār also admits it in his *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* (*1942*). He says: 'Mahendra seems to have been a patron of music as well, and a short musical treatise referable to his time is inscribed on the face of the great Śiva Temple at Kuḍimiyāmalai in the Pudukkottai state so that Mahendra in particular was a patron of art as well as of religion'. Kuḍimiyāmalai literally means the hill of Him who has the Śikhā. It is the Śikhānāthasvāmī temple near the Melaikkovil. 'This huge inscription', says R. Sathyanārāyaṇa, 'is engraved on a rock on the slope of the hill behind the Śikhānāthasvāmī temple. The end-signs and some of the last letters of the lines of the final sections of the inscription are obscured by the rock-cut *maṇḍapaṃ* in front of the Melaikkovil, but otherwise the writing in the *pallvagrantha* characters, containg all the headings and the colophon in *saṁskṛta* except a line in *tāmil* at the end. It contains quadruple groupings of musical notes pertaining to the seven archaic *śuddhagrāmarāgas—madhyamagrāma, ṣaḍjagrāma, sādhārita, pañcama, kaiśika-madhyama* and *kaiśika* in vogue in ancient India. * * Unfortunately, a similar inscription at Tirumayyam near Padukkottai was erased in greater part at a later period and is now almost in an undecipherable condition. * * The inscription is believed to have been composed in the seventh century A.D. on the strength of scriptoroal and

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other evidence. Its author is generally believed to be Mahenrda Vikrama Varman I of the Pallavas. Though the inscription was discovered as early as in 1904 and edited by P. R. Bhandarkar in 1914 with commentary with the help of an estampage supplied by the late Rāo Shāheb H. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī, only an occasional or a causal study of the inscription has been made till now.'

R. Sathyanārāyaṇa of Mysore Brothers further says : 'The inscription of the seven *grāma-rāgas* is divided into seven sections, 'each subdivided into a number of *ākṣiptikās*. Each *ākṣiptikā* is in a horizontal line, the notes being arragned in quadruple groupings. Each *ākṣiptikā* concludes with an end-sign. Fifteen of these are lost. * * The total usage of musical notes in the inscription is 2432. But of these 54 are not available. However 19 out of these missing notes may be guessed as follows : sa-3, ri-2, ga (*antara-gāndhāra*)-2, ma-4, pa-3, dha-3 and ka (*kaiśika-niṣāda*)-2. The frequency of usage of the musical notes in the inscription is in the following order :

I. Ṣaḍja—sa, se, su, si.
II. Madhyama—mu, mi, me, ma.
III. Dhaivata—dhe, dhu, dhi, dha.
IV. Ṛṣabha—ra, ru, ri, re.
V. Pañcama—pu, pe, pi, pa.
VI. Niṣāda—ne, na (nu, ni).
VII. Gāndhāra—gi, ga, ge, gu.
VIII. Antara (gāndhāra)—u, a, e,—

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IX. Kākali (niṣāda)—ke, ku, ka,—.'[48]

The names of the seven notes, used in the inscription, are : *ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha gāndhāra, madhyama, pañchama, dhaivata, niṣāda* and two *vikṛta* notes, *antara-gāndhāra* and *kākali-niṣāda.*

It should be remembered that though we find the seven *grāmaragas,* in the *Nāradīśikṣā,* yet they were, in truth, six in number. Bhattaśobhākara, the commentator is of opinion that the *grāmarāgas, kaiśika* and *kaiśika-madhyama,* as described by the *N. Śikṣā,* are, in reality, one and the same *rāga,* but, because of different adjustment of notes, *madhyama* and *pañcama,* they appear as different. As for example, when in the *grāmarāga, kaiśika,* the fourth note, *madhyama* is used as a final note (*nyāsa-svara*), it is known as *kaiśika-madhyama,* and when *pañcama* is used as the dominant or sonant and *niṣāda* as *kākali,* it is called *kaiśika.*[49] Besides this the tonal arrangements of both the *grāmarāgas* or

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48. Vide R. Sathyanārāyaṇa of Mysore Brothers : *Kuḍimiyāmalai Inscription on Music* (Mysore, 1957), p. 82, and Preface.

49. (क) कैशिकं भावयित्वा तु स्वरैः सर्वैः समन्ततः।
यस्मात् तु मध्यमे न्यासस्तस्मात् कैशिकमध्यमः॥
काकलिर्दृश्यते यत्र प्राधान्यं पञ्चमस्य तु।
काश्यपः कैशिकं प्राह मध्यमग्रामसम्भवम्॥

(ख) Bhattaśobhākara says :

पूर्वोक्तकैशिकं यदा सर्वैः स्वरैर्भाव्यते योज्यते मध्यमादुपक्रम्यते मध्यमे च न्यस्यते तत्र स्थाप्यते तदा कैशिकमध्यमो ग्रामरागो भवतीति मध्यमग्रामादुत्पन्नस्य काकलिरेव श्रुतिको निषादो भवति पञ्चमस्य प्राधान्यं पुनःपुनरुच्चारणं शेषाणि स्वरान्तराणि सामान्येन वर्तन्ते। तदा मध्यमग्रामसंभवं कैशिकं काश्यपर्षिराह।

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rāgas are the same, and they both have evolved from *madhyama-grāma*, the ancient basic scale. So, if we consider the *grāmarāgas*, *kaiśika* and *kaiśika-madhyama* as one and the same, the number seven, as mentioned in the *Nāradīśikṣā*, becomes consistent with those six *grāmarāgas* ('*saḍgrāmarāgādi*'), as mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa*. Besides this, as the *sādhārita* is known as *ṣaḍja-sādhāraṇa* and the *kaiśika* as '*madhyama-sādhāraṇa*, so we may consider the *kaiśika* as *kaiśika-madhyama*. But it should be remembered that even during the time of *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa*, *jātis* or *jātirāgas* were practised with the *brahmagītis* and *kapālagītis*, devised by the greatest playwright and musicologist, Brahmā or Brahmābharata of the pre-Christian era.

The nature and forms of the *jātirāgas* have been discussed elaborately by Muni Bharata, in a new and novel way. During his time, the seven *jātirāgas* were developed into eighteen. With the mixture of seven pure (*śuddha*) *jātirāgas*, he designs eleven more. He calls them mixed i.e. *vikṛta* or *saṁkīrṇa jātirāgas*. In the last chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, he mentions some *grāmaragās*. He designates the *jātis* as '*rāgas*' and the evidence of it is found at least five times, in different chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He says : (a) '*jātirāgaṃ śrutiścaiva*' (*kāśī* ed. 28.55) ;[50] (b)

50. जातिरागं श्रुतिश्चैव (२८।५५)

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'*yasmin vasanti rāgāstu*' (28.72);[51] (c) '*kartavyā jātigāne prayatnataḥ*' (29.4);[52] (d) '*karuṇe tu rase kārye jātigāne*' (29.6);[53] (e) '*adbhute tu rase kārya jātigāne*' (29.9),[54] etc. The *jātigāna* means the *jatirāga-gāna*. The term '*gāna*' or '*gīti*' is used here for '*rāga*'. The *jātis* or *jātirāgas* were sung with eight emotional sentiments, four *varṇas*, different music-parts (*dhātus*), rhythm and tempo (*tāla* and *laya*.) They were determined by ten characteristics, like initial (*graha*), sonant (*aṁśa* or *vādī*) notes : '*evametat yathā-jāti daśakaṃ jātilakṣaṇaṃ*'.[55]

After Bharata, Kohala, Yāṣṭik, Durgāśakti and others expound the nature and forms of different formalized *deśī-rāgas*. Mataṅga follows Bharata, in many respects. He calls the *jātis* as *rāgas*, when he ditermines the sonant, consonant and dissonant (notes) of them. He says :

(a) '* * *asmin sthāne kriyamānaḥ ṣadja jātirāgaḥā na bhavet*'.

(b) '*evaṃ ṛṣabha-dhaivatayoḥ sthāne dhaivatṛṣa-bhau jātirāga-vināśakarau na bhavataḥ*'.

(c) '* * *svarūpaṃ bhajan jatirāgaḥā na bhavati*' etc.[56]

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51. यस्मिन् वसन्ति रागास्तु (२४।७२)
52. कर्तव्या जातिगाने प्रयत्नतः (२९।४)
53. करुणे तु रसे कार्ये जातिगाने (२९।६)
54. अद्भुते तु रसे कार्ये जातिगाने (२९।९)
55. एवमेतत् यथा जाति दशकं जातिलक्षणम्। —नाट्यशास्त्र
56. (क) अस्मिन् स्थाने क्रियमाणः षड्ज जातिरागहा न भवेत्।
(ख) एवम् ऋषभ-धैवतयोः स्थाने धैवतर्षभौ-जातिराग-विनाशकरौ न भवतः।
(ग) * * स्वरूपं भजन जातिरागहा न भवति।

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From these it is clear that the *jātis* are no other than the basic melody-types or *rāgas*, and they are fully possessed of ten determining characteristics (*daśa-lakṣaṇas*) and ten pleasing qualities, (*deśa-guṇas*), like *madhura*, *rakta*, *prasanna*, etc.

The *jātirāga*, says Śāraṅgadeva, evolved from the materials of the Vedic music, the *sāmans* and it was sacred like the Vedic music : '*tathā sāma-samudbhūta jātayo veda-sammataḥ*'.[57] Śāraṅgadeva says that the *gāndharva* or *mārga* type of *jātirāgagāna* was sacred like the Vedic music, as it purified the sins and demerits, originating from even the killing of the Brāhmiṇs : '*api brahma-hananaṃ*'. The ancient musicologists say that the music, which was searched for, collected and designed in a new pattern, according to new method, was known as '*mārga*' ('*mṛg*'—*anevṣaṇe*), and it was also called as '*gāndharva*', because it was very favourite to the semi-divine Gandharvas. Nārada defines the word '*gāndharva*' as,

Geti geyaṃ viduḥ prājñā dheti kāru-pravādanaṃ/
Veti vādyasya saṁjñeyaṃ gāndharvasya
virocanaṃ //[58]

Bhattaśobhākara clarifies it, when he comments on the *śloka* : '*ga-śabdena gānaṃ lakṣyayate, dhakāreṇa va-kāreṇa vaiṇikasya pravādanaṃ, cāturyena hastāṅguli-dhāraṇaṃ pravādana-padena kathite va-*

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57. तथा साम-समुद्भूत जातयो वेदसम्मतः। —सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर
58. गेति गेयं विदुः प्राज्ञा धेति कारुप्रवादनम्।
वेति वाद्यस्य संज्ञेयं गान्धर्वस्य विरोचनम्॥ —नारदीशिक्षा

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kāreṇa vādanaṃ lakṣitaṃ'[59] That is, by the word '*ga*' song is meant, by '*dha*', the practice of flute or pipe, by '*ya*', placing the fingers on the holes of the flute (*veṇu*), and the word '*va*' signifies the practice of musical instruments. Therefore *gāndharva* means the music and its process of singing, accompanied with flute. Bharata also defines the word '*gāndharva*' in the same sense, though he interprets it in a different way. He says that the combination of *svara*, *tāla* and *pada* gave rise to the *gāndharva* type of music : '*gāndharvamiti vijñeyaṃ svara-tāla-padāśrayaṃ*'.[60] These three constituents, *svara*, *tāla*, *and pada* were composed of many other constituents like :

(a) *svara*—notes, microtones, *grāmas*, *mūrcchanās*, registers, eighteen *jātis*, *varṇas*, etc.

(b) *tāla*—*āvāpa*, *niṣkrāma*, *śamyā*, etc.

(c) *pada*—*vyañjana*, *sandhi*, *vibhakti*, etc.

It should be remembered that the *jātis*, or *jātirāgas* played an important rôle in the *gāndharva* type of music. The *gāndharva* was also enriched with the *gītis*, like *dhruvā*, *bhrahma*, *kapāla*, *kambala*, *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *prithulā* and *sambhāvitā*. Mataṅga says,

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59. ग-शब्देन गानं लक्ष्यते, ध-कारेण व-कारेण वैणिकस्य प्रवादनं, चातुर्येन हस्ताङ्गुलिधारणं प्रवादन-पदेन कथिते व-कारेण वादनं लक्षितम्।

—भरतभाष्यकार (शिक्षासंग्रहः, पृ० ४१०)

60. गान्धर्वमिति विज्ञेयं स्वर-ताल-पदाश्रयम्।

—नाट्यशास्त्र

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Rāga-mārgasya yad-rūpaṃ yannoktaṃ
Bharatādibhiḥ /
Nirūpyate tadasmābhirlakṣya-lakṣaṇa-
saṁyutaṃ / /[61]

The portion '*yannoktaṃ bharatādibhiḥ*' does not mean that Bharata and his followers, Kohala, Yāṣṭika and others did never mention '*rāga*', but it means that they mentioned and used it in their system of music and fully knew its significance, only they did not define the word '*rāga*'. Mataṅga interprets the seven *rāgas*, in terms of seven types of songs or *gītis*, and they are: *śuddhā*, *vinnā* or *vinnakā*, *gauḍī* or *gauḍikā*, *rāga*, *sādhāraṇī*, *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā*. There are differences of opinion among the ancient musicologists like Yaṣṭika, Bharata, Śārdula, Durgāśakti and others, regarding the numbers and names of the *gītis*, and Mataṅga mentions them in his *Bṛhaddeśī*: '*sapta-gityo mayā proktā idānīṃ bheda ucyate*'.[62]

Mataṅga determines the characteristics of the *rāga* ('*idānīṃ sampra-vaksyāmi rāga-lakṣaṇa-muttamaṃ*') and says that the seven *rāgagītis* differ in their manifestations and aesthetic values, due to different uses of microtones and tones. As for example,

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61. रागमार्गस्य यद्रूपं यन्नोक्तं भरतादिभिः।
निरूप्यते तदस्माभिर्लक्ष्य-लक्षण-संयुक्तम्॥ —बृहद्देशी

62. सप्त-गीत्यो मया प्रोक्ता इदानीं भेद उच्यते। —बृहद्देशी

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'Mandrā mandraiśca tāraiśca ṛjubhirlalitaiḥ samaiḥ /
Svaraiśca śrutibhiḥ pūrṇa cokṣā gīti-rudāhṛta //[63]

Again he mentions about the *rāgas*, evolved out of these *rāgagītis*, *bhinnā*, etc. He says that five *rāgas* evolved from the *bhinnā*, three from the *gauḍī*, eight from the *rāga*, seven from the *sāḍāraṇī*, sixteen from the *bhāṣā*, and twelve from the *vibhāṣā*.[64] That is, the numbers of the *rāgas* evolved were 5+3+8+7+16+12=51. The following *rāgas* evolved from the *rāgagītis*.

I. Bhinnā—*ṣāḍava*, *pañcama*, *kaiśika-madhyama*, *sādhārita* and *kaiśika*=5

II. Gauḍī—*bhinna-ṣaḍja*, *bhinna-kaiśika-madhyama* and *bhinna-pañcama*=3

III. Rāga—*ṭhaku* or *takka*, *sauvira*, *mālava-pañcama*, *ṣāḍava*, *botta*, *hindolaka* or *hindola*, *ṭhakka-kaiśika*, and *mālava-kaiśika*=8

IV. Sādhāraṇī—*śaka*, *kakubha hārmāṇa-pañcama*, *rūpa-sādhārita*, *gāndhāra-pañcama*, and *ṣaḍja-kaiśika*=7

Mataṅga does not mention the *bhāṣā-ragās*, evolved out of the three other *rāgagītis*. Śāraṅgadeva

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63. मन्द्रा मन्द्रैश्च तारैश्च ऋजुभिर्ललितैः समैः ।
स्वरैश्च श्रुतिभिः पूर्णा चोचा गीतिरुदाहृत ॥ —बृहद्देशी

64. पञ्च चोचाः समाख्यातास्तत्प्रमाणाश्च भिन्नकाः ॥
गौड़ास्त्रयस्तु कथिता रागास्त्वष्टौ प्रकीर्तिताः ।
सप्त साधारणाः प्रोक्ता भाषास्त्वेवं षोड़श ॥
द्वादशैव विभाषाः स्युर्नामानि च निबोध मे ।
—बृहद्देशी (विवान्द्रम सं), पृ० ८७

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(early thirteenth century) differs from him and says that *grāmarāgas* are of five kinds and they are accompanied with five *gītis*. As the *gītis* are sung with the help of the *grāmarāgas*, they are known as the '*rāgagītis*'. The five *rāgagītis* are : *śuddhā*, *bhinnā gauḍi*, *vesarā* and *sādhāraṇī*, and thirty *grāmarāgas* evolved from these five *gītis*. Simhabhupāla also admits it, and he says : '*militā grāmarāgāstriṁśat*'.

Bharata formulates in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* four *varṇas* and different *alaṃkāras*, for the fuller manifestation of the *gītis*, and consequently of the *rāgas*. Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva, Śāraṅgadeva and other musicologists have adopted the scheme and method of Bharata, with some difference in their interpretations and meanings. The four *varṇas* are : *ārohī*, *avarohī*, *sthāyī* and *sañcārī*, and *alaṁkāras*, like *prasannādi*, *prasannānta*, etc. were added to them. Bharata says that the *varṇas* are constructed out of the notes, which are saturated with emotional sentiments, and they are meant for the songs (*gītayojaka*). The *ārohī* and *avarohī varṇas* are so called because their component notes have movements, upward and downward respectively. When the notes remain constant and unchanging ('*sthirāḥ svarāḥ samā yatra*')[65], they are called '*sthāyī*', and when they move, they are known as '*sañcārī*'. These four *varṇas* appear in three different registers (*sthānas*), bass, medium and high (*mandra*, *madhya* and *tāra*), and their intonations and volumes of

65. स्थिराः स्वराः समा यत्र ।

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sounds manifest according to those registers (*'tri-sthāna-guṇa-gocara'*)[66]. The *sthayī-varṇa* is a symbol of peace and balance, and the *alaṁkarās* like *prasannādi, prasannāntas, prasannādyanta, prasanna-madya, krama, recita, prastāra* and *prasāda* are included in it. The word *'prasāda'* means 'balance of the mind', which originates from the basic senti ment, *śṛṅgāra*. The word *śṛṅgāra* is generally mistranslated as a sex urge, but it really conveys the idea of primal creative impulse or will, which is philosophically known as the Cosmic Will or Prakṛti. In Tantra literature it is known as Kāmakalā or Kundalinī, the coiling or unmanifested causal energy. The *sthāyī varṇas* are mostly used in the Vedic songs like *stotra, gāthā*, and *gānas* like *araṇyegeya, grāmegeya*, etc. with *stobhas* or *stobhākṣaras*, and in the classical type of *dhruvapada prabandha gītis*. The *sthāyī-varṇas* of the Vedic music, together with *stobhas* used to create a majestic and peaceful atmosphere.

Now, what does the *alaṁkāra, prasaannādi* of the *sthāyī-varṇa* mean? Bharata says that the *alaṁkāra, prasannādi* is that which makes the notes gradually shining : *'kramaśa dīptito yaḥ syāt'*.[67] The words *'kramaśa dīptitaḥ'* convey the idea of degrees of intensity in the act of shining, and these degrees are the gradations of sound volumes or sound waves, from lesser to higher pitch. The

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66. विस्थान-गुणगोचर।

67. क्रमशो दीप्तितो यः स्यात्।

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tonic, *ṣaḍja* is the navel or primal tone of every kind of *alaṁkāras*, and it helps gradually to manifest the other consecutive six notes, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, *madhyama*, *pañcama*, *dhaivata* and *niṣāda*, in the first *alaṁkāra*, *prasannādi*. In this process, the number of vibrations of the tonal sounds grows more and more greater and higher, so that the pitch-value of the note, *ṛṣabha* is higher than that of the note *ṣaḍja*, and the pitch-value of *gāndhāra* is higher than that of *ṛṣabha*, and so on. This process is also found in the *Taittīriya-Prātiśākhya*, where the evolution of the Vedic notes, *kruṣṭa*, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, etc. are explained. In the 13th aphorism of the *Prātiśākhya*, it is said : '* * * *teṣāṃ dīptijñopalabdhiḥ*'.[68] The commentator Somācārya makes it explicit when he says : '*tesāṃ khalu sapta-yamānāṃ utta-rottara-dīptijā pūrva-pūrvopalabdhiḥ syāt*',[69] etc. Prof. W. D. Whitney explains it in a different way and he says that the word '*dīpti*' indicates 'the source of light'. But Prof. Whitney, we think, fails to appreciate the true significance of the word *dīpti*, because *dīpti* really signifies the idea of light which means realization of the status of the notes. To make it clear it can be said that the second note is realized, with its pitch-value or intensity from the first one, the third from the second, the fourth from the

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68. तेषां दीप्तिज्ञोपलब्धिः।

69. तेषां खलु सप्त यमानां उत्तरोत्तर-दीप्तिजा पूर्व पूर्वोपलब्धिः स्यात्।

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third, and so on. Such is also the case with the notes of the fomalized regional classical (*deśī*) music.

The note, *ṣaḍja* bears the significance of giving birth (i.e. making shining) to other six notes : '*ṣaṭ jāyate yaṣmāt*'. It should be remembered that the seven notes manifest in the *prasannādi alaṁkāra* and are uttered or intonated connectedly, and not separately, e. g. sa ri ga ma pa dha ni, and when they manifest separately ('*vyastoccārita*'),[70] they form the *alaṁkāra*, *prasannānta*. Bharata also mentions about the application of different microtones (*śrutis*) in different *alaṁkāras* of the *sthāyī-varṇa*, and his explanation or elucidation of the *alaṁkāras* are very lucid and convincing (vide the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Kāvyamālā ed. chap. 29th, 17-86).

In the *Bṛhaddeśī*, Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) follows Bharata, though his method of interpretation of the terms are different, to some extent. He says that the word '*varṇa*' connotes the idea of song ('*varṇa-śabdena gānamabhidhīyate*'),[71] whereas Bharata says that the *varṇas* are meant for the songs : '*ete varṇāstu * * gīta-yojakaḥ*'.[72]

Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century) follows Muni Bharata, but his ways of interpretation of the *varṇas* and *alaṁkāras* in the *Śaṅgīta-*

70. व्यस्तोच्चारित।
71. वर्ण-शब्देन गानमभिधीयते।
72. एते वर्णास्तु * * गीतयोजकः।

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Ratnākara are different. He rather makes a new approach in defining and elucidating the *vārṇas* and *alaṁkāras*. He defines *varṇa* as '*gāna-kriyā*' (vide *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, 1.6.1). Now, what is the '*gāna-kriyā*' ? Kallināth says that the word *gāna-kriyā* conveys the idea of description or elaboration of the notes or stanzas : '*svara-padāde varnanād-vistāra-kāraṇāt*', [73] as for example, sa-sa-sa, ri-ri-ri, etc. Siṁhabhupāla describes *varṇa* as the method of helping the intonation of the notes : '*gāna-kriyā gāna-karaṇam, uccāraṇaṃ īti yāvat*'. [74] The *varṇas* are of four kinds, and the *sthāyī-varṇa*, says Śāraṅgadeva, is used with some definite pause : '*sthitvā sthitvā prayogaḥ syāt*'[75] . Siṁhabhupāla explains that *sthāyī-varṇa* is the lengthening of pronunciation or intonation : '*vilamvya vilamvya * * uccāraṇaṃ*'.[76] But Bharata does not admit any of these definitions, as, according to him, the notes of the *sthāyī-varṇa* are used without any change or delay. He says : '*sthirāḥ svarāḥ samā yatra*', i.e., the notes will be intonated or uttered slowly and in the same process. Śāraṅgadeva says that the utility or importance of the *varṇas* is for difinite intonation and elaborate manifestation of the songs (*gītis*), and the *alaṁkāras* are the combinations of the *varṇas*

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73. स्वर-पदादे वर्णनाद् विस्तारकरणात्।
74. गानक्रिया गानकरणं उच्चारणं इति यावत्।
75. स्थित्वा स्थित्वा प्रयोगः स्यात्।
76. विलम्ब्य विलम्ब्य * * उच्चारणम्।

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(*varṇa-sandharva*). Bharata does not agree with Śāraṅgadeva in this matter. He says that the *alaṁkāras* are helpful and cling to the *varṇas* (*varṇa-saṁśrayaḥ*). Siṁhabhupāla makes the contentions of Bharata and Śāraṅgadeva more explicit when he says that the *gītis* are pleasant to the musicians and listeners for the *varṇas* and *alaṁkāras*: '* * *gīti-gāṭṛ-śotṛṇāṃ sukhāvahā bhavatīti*'.[77] Śaraṅgadeva defines the *alaṁkāra*, *prasannādi* as the combination of two bass notes, and one high note, e.g. ṣa ṣa sā. That is, two bass notes will be intonated first and then a high note is sounded separately. But this definition of *prasannādi* of Śāraṅgadeva is different from that of Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Such is also the case with other *alaṁkāras*.

The noted South Indian musicologist Veṅkatamakhī also deals with the problem of *alaṁkāra* in his *Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*. He says that according to Śāraṅgadeva, *alaṁkāras* are 63 in number: '*te ca triṣaṣṭi-ruditāḥ śāraṅgadevena-sūriṇā*'.[78] At the end of the *varṇālaṁkāra* chapter, Śāraṅgadeva admits it: '*iti prasiddha-alaṁkārā-stri-ṣaṣṭi-ruditā mayā*'.[79] But Veṅkatamahkī has neither followed Bharata nor Śāraṅgadeva in respect of the *alaṁkāras*. He defines the *alaṁkāras* like *jhompta*, *dhruva*, *maṇṭha*, *rūpaka*, *jhampa*, *triputa*,

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77. गीति-गाढ-श्रोतृणां सुखावहा भवतीति।
78. ते च त्रिषष्टिरुदिताः शारङ्गदेवेन-सूरिणा।
79. इति प्रसिद्धा अलंकारास्त्रिषष्टिरुदिता मया।

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etc. which are rectifier i.e. helpful to the notes of the *gitis*. Veṅkatamakhī's *jhompta* (*alaṁkāra*) is similar to *ārohī* and *avarohī varṇas* combined.

Now, we find that though the three outstanding musicologists, Bharata, Śāraṅgadeva and Veṅkatamakhī differ from one another, regarding the *varṇas* and *alaṁkāras*, yet they admit the importance of them, for definite and clear manifestation of the notes (*svaras*) and the songs (*gītis*). The music of India is enriched with their precious contributions, and they will remain as the guiding stars to the lovers of music and musicology of not only of India, but also of all the civilized nations of the world.

The *grāmarāgas* evolved from the two ancient basic scales (*grāmas*), *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*. From the fifty-one (according to Mataṅga) or thirty (according to Śāraṅgadeva) *grāmarāgas*, various subordinate (*bhāṣā*) *rāgas* evolved. From *bhāṣā*, evolved *vibhāṣā* or *vibhāṣikā rāgas*, and from *vibhāṣā*, *antarabhāṣā rāgas* came into being. Mataṅga says,

Grāmaragodbhavā bhāṣā bhāṣābhyśca
vibhāṣikāḥ /
Vibhāṣābhyaśca sañjātastathā cāntara-
bhāṣikāḥ//[80]

The *bhāṣā-rāgas* are so called, because they evolved from the *grāmarāgas*. These *bhāṣā* or subordinate *rāgas* are divided into four classes,

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80. ग्रामरागोद्भवा भाषा भाषाभ्यश्च विभाषिकाः।
विभाषाभ्यश्च सञ्जातस्तथा चान्तरभाषिकाः॥

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mūla (main), *saṁkīrṇa* (mixed), *deśaja* (evolved from the regional tunes), and *chāyāmātrāśrayā* (evolved as parts). Again these *rāgas* are classified into *rāgāṅga*, *bhāṣāṅga*, *kriyāṅga* and *upāṅga*. Kallināth defines all these *aṅga-rāgas* in the second part of the *rāga* chapter of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. He says that the *rāgas*, evolved out of the main *rāgas*, are known as *rāgāṅga* : '*grāmoktānāṃ tu rāgāṇāṃ chāyāmātraṃ bhavediti * * rāgāṅgastena hetunā*'.[81] The *bhāṣāṅga rāga* are the upshoot of of the *bhāṣā-rāgas*, etc. All these *aṅga-rāgas* are known as formalized *deśī*, because they have been adopted from different aboriginal tunes of different parts of India. In fact, the folk songs are the basic ones and from them art music developed in the gradual process. Kallināth says : '*rāgāṅgādi-catuṣṭayaṃ deśī-rāgatayā proktamiti*',[82] i.e. the *rāgas* are known as regional, because they are sung at the free will of the people in general and no *śāstric* rules can be imposed upon them : '*deśītvaṃ nāma kāmācāra-pravartitvaṃ*'.[83]

Veṅkatamakhī (1620 A.D.) is of opinion that Bharata and others admit ten *grāmarāgas*, among which six are of *mārga* type and four are of *deśī* or regional type. He states,

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81. ग्रामोक्तानां तु रागाणां छायामात्रम् भवेदिति ।
* * रागाङ्गत्वेन हेतुना ।

82. रागाङ्गादि चतुष्टयं देशीरागतया प्रोक्तमिति ।

83. देशीत्वं नाम कामाचारप्रवर्तित्वम् ।

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Rāgāstāvaddaśavidhā bharatādyai-rudīritāḥ /
Grāmarāgāścoparāgā-rāgā-bhāṣā-vibhāṣikāḥ //
Tathaivāntarabhāṣākhyā rāgāṅgākhyāstataḥ
paraṃ /
Bhāṣaṅgāni kriyāṅgāni hyupāṅgāniti ca
kramāt //
Daśasveteṣu rāgeṣu grāmarāgādayaḥ punaḥ /
Rāgāstvantarabhāṣāntā mārga-rāgā bhavanti
ṣaṭ //
Tato gandharvalokena prayojyāste vyavas-
thitāḥ /
Tasmād-rāgāṅga-bhāṣāṅga-kriyāṅgopāṅga
samjñitā /
Rāgāscatvāra evaite deśīrāgāḥ prakīrtitāḥ //[84]

The contention of Veṅkatamakhī is that the *mārga* type of the *grāmarāgas* were exclusively practised by the semi-divine Gandharvas, whereas the *deśīrāgas* by the people in general. But from history we know that the *grāmarāgas* were widely cultured by men and women in the times

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84. रागास्तावद्दशविधा भरतार्द्यै रुदीरिताः ।
ग्रामरागास्तथोपरागा रागा-भाषा-विभाषिकाः ॥
तथैवान्तरभाषाख्या रागांगाख्यास्ततः परम् ।
भाषांगानि क्रियांगानि ह्युपांगानीति च क्रमात् ॥
दशस्वेतेषु रागेषु ग्रामरागादयः पुनः ।
रागास्त्वन्तरभाषाख्या मार्गरागा भवन्ति षट् ॥
ततो गन्धर्वलोकेन प्रयोज्यास्ते व्यवस्थिताः ।
तस्माद्रागांग-भाषांग-भाषांग-क्रियांगोपांगसंज्ञिताः ॥
रागास्चत्वार एवैते देशीरागाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

—चतुर्दण्डीप्रकाशिका (मद्रास सं), पृः ५७

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of *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa* (400 B.C. —200 B.C.). Nārada also mentions seven kinds of *grāmarāgas* in his '*Śikṣā*'. So, when Veṅkatamakhī says: '*tato gandharva-lokena prayojyaste*', it means that the six *mārga grāmarāgas* were the *gāndharva* type of music, and they gradually became extinct in the human society. Such was the case of the *gāndhāra-grāma*. The word '*gandharva-loka*' signifies the region of the semi-divine Gandharvas. It was believed that the *gāndharva* type of music was very favourite to the Gandharvas, and Bharata admits it in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It is probable that when *gāndharva* type of music gradually fell into oblivion from the human community, its practice was limited only to the Gandharvas. Further Veṅkatamukhī's statement: '*rāgāstvantarabhāṣāntā mārgarāgā bhavanti ṣaṭ*' is also supported by Kallināth, when he says: '*gāndharvaṃ mārgaḥ * * svaraga-*

Śārańgadeva says,

सर्वेषामिति रागाणां मिलितानाम् शतद्वयं ।
चतुःषष्ट्याधिकं ब्रूते शार्ङ्गी स्त्रीकरणाग्रणीः ॥

That is, the *rāgas* are 264 in number: (a) *grāmarāga* 30 + *uparāga* 8 + *rāga* 20 + *bhāṣārāga* 96 + *vibhāṣarāga* 20 + *antarabhāṣā-rāga* 4 + *rāgāṅga* 21 + *bhāṣaṅga* 20 + *kriyāṅga* 15 + *upāṅga* 30 = 264.

(b) *grāmarāga* 30 + *uparāga* 8 + *rāga* 20 + *bhāṣā* 96 + *vibhāṣā* 20 + *antarabhāṣā* 4 + (ancient) *rāgāṅga* 8 + *bhāṣāṅga* 11 + *kriyāṅga* 12 + *upāṅga* 3 + (modern) *rāgāṅga* 13 + *bhāṣāṅga* 9 + *kriyāṅga* 3 + *upāṅga* 27 = 264 (vide *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, Adyar ed.), pt. II, pp. 12-13.

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tarāga-vivekayor-jātyādyantarabhā-ṣāntaṃ yaduktaṃ tad-gāndharvamityarthaḥ'.[85]

We have already said that the pure type of the *jātirāgas* are the caste or basic melodies. They evolved probably in the beginning of the classical period (600—500 B.C.). They were gradually developed, and in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* we find eleven more mixed *jātirāgas* and their number became eighteen (7+11=18). From them, as has already been said, there evolved six *grāmarāgas*, which again gave rise to various *uparāgas*. From the *uparāgas*, different *bhāṣā-rāgas*, from the *bhāṣās*, the *vibhāṣās* and from the *vibhāṣās*, different *aṇtarabhāṣā rāgas* evolved through the process of gradual progression.

Again, a neo-creative urge, among the progressive community of people, gave birth to different types of formalized regional or folk tunes, in the form of *śāstric* classical melodies. The post-Bharata playwrights, musicologists and musicians had broad vision and so they enriched the treasures of Aryan music, by adopting various non-Aryan and even some foreign tunes. The *deśī* class of music, like *rāgāṅga*, *bhāṣāṅga*, *kriyāṅga* and *upāṅga* evolved side by side with the *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā* and *antarabhāṣā rāgas* to suit the taste of the progressive society. A chart is given below showing the distinction of these *rāgas* from the *jātis* and formalized *deśī rāgas*.

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85. गान्धर्वं मार्गः * * स्वरगतरागविवेकयोर्जात्याद्यन्तरभाषान्तं यदुक्तं तद् गान्धर्वमित्यर्थः।

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CHART I

The *rāgas* that evolved and were current from 600 B.C. to the second-third century A.D. :

Nos.	Grāmas	Pure & Mixed	Mixed	Jātirāgas
1.	Ṣaḍja	Pure	—	Ṣāḍjī
2.	,,	,,	—	Ārṣabhī
3.	Madhyama	,,	—	Gāndhārī
4.	,,	,,	—	Madhyamā
5.	,,	,,	—	Pañcamī
6.	Ṣaḍja	,,	—	Dhaivātī
7.	,,	,,	—	Naiṣādī
8.	,,	Mixed	Ṣāḍjī + Gāndhārī	Saḍja-kaiśikī
9.	,,	,,	Ṣāḍjī + Gāndhārī + Dhaivatī	Ṣaḍjodicyavā
10.	,,	,,	Ṣāḍjī + Madhyamā	Saḍja-madhyamā
11.	Madhyama	,,	Gāndhārī + Dhaivatī + Ṣāḍjī + Madhyamā	Gāndhārodicyavā
12.	,,	,,	Gāndhārī + Naiṣādī + Pañcamī + Madhyamā	Raktagāndhārī
13.	,,	,,	Ṣāḍjī + Gāndhārī + Madhyamā + Pañcamī + Naiṣādī	Kaiśikī
14.	,,	,,	Gāndhārī + Dhaivatī + Pañcamī + Madhyamā	Madhyamovi-cyavā
15.	,,	,,	Naiṣādī + Ārṣabhī + Pañcamī	Karmāravī
16.	,,	,,	Gāndhārī + Pañcamī	Gāndhāra-Pañcamī
17.	,,	,,	Gāndhārī + Ārṣabhī	Āndhrī
18.	,,	,,	Gāndhārī + Pañcamī + Ārṣabhī	Nandayantī

Now, it may be asked what were the forms and manifestations of the seven *śuddha-jātis* or pure type of *jātirāgas*, that were current from the time of *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.) down to that of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (second century A.D.). If we critically study Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī* and Śāraṅgadeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, we get an idea of them. Bharata says that *ṣāḍjī* used to be presented in

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three forms, heptatonic (*saṁpūrṇa*), hexatonic (*ṣāḍava*) and pentatonic (*auḍava*). That is, when *ṛṣabha* and *niṣāda* were dropped, it manifested as the pentatonic *jātirāga*, and when only *nisāda* was dropped, it was known as hexatonic. Both the first and the sixth notes were used as sonants (*aṁśa* or *vādī*). There were harmonic relations between the first and the third, and the first and the sixth notes. Three kinds of units (*kalā*) were used in *jātiragas* it and they are *ekakala*, *dvikala* and *catuṣkala*.

I. The *ṣāḍjī* was used with the stage songs (*nātya-gītis*), *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *sambhāvitā* and *prithulā*, according to the numbers or units (*kalā*) used in it. In the first act of the dramatic play, the *jātirāga ṣadjī* was used with the *dhruvā-gīti*, *naiṣkrāmakī*. Śāraṅgadeva has given the notations of the *jātirāga*, *ṣāḍjī* with the composition (*sāhitya*) of the *prabandha* type of *brahmagīti*, which is believed to be composed by Brahmabharata of the 600-500 B.C. The notations are,

sa sa sa sa pa ni-dha pa dha-ni
taṃ o bha va la lā o o ta o
ri ga-ma ga ga sa ri-ga dha-sa dha
na ya o nāṃ o vu jā o o o dhi
ri-ga sa ri ga sa sa sa sa /
kaṃ o o o o o o o o, etc.[86]

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86. थं भव-ललाट-नयनाम्बूजाधिकं।
नगसूनु-प्रणय-केलि-समुद्भवम् ॥

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II. The *ārṣabhī* used to be presented as heptatonic, hexatonic and pentatonic. When tonic, *ṣaḍja* was left out, it was known as hexatonic, and when tonic and the fifth were dropped, it was manifested as pentatonic. The notes, *ṛṣabha*, *dhaivata* and *niṣāda* were used as sonants. The rhythm like *caccatputa*, with eight units (*kalā*), accompanied it. It was generally used in the dramatic song, *naiṣkrāmikī* (*dhruvāgiti*).

III. The *gāndhārī* used to be manifested sometimes with seven notes, sometimes with six, when *ṛṣabha* was dropped, and sometimes with five notes, when *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* were left out. It used to be played upto the notes, *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* of both the registers, bass and high. It manifested with sixteen units or *kalā* and the rhythm, *caccatputa*. It was used in the dramatic song, *prāveśika* or *prāveśikī* (*dhruvā*).

IV. The *madhyama-jātirāga* used to be manifested in three tonal forms, heptatonic, hexatonic and pentatonic. When the note, *gāndhāra* was dropped, it was known as hexatonic, and when both *gāndhāra* and *niṣāda* were left out, it was called pentatonic. The five notes, *ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, *madhyama*, *pañcama* and *dhaivata* were used as sonant (*aṁśa*) alternately. The notes, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama* were used profusely, while lesser number of *gāndhāra* was used. Eight units (*kalās* or *mātrās*) and rhythm like *caccatputa* were added to it.

V. The *pañcamī* used to be manifested with its

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sonants, *ṛṣabha* and *pañcama*. The final (*nyāsa*) note was *pañcama*. The notes, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra* were used sparingly. There was a harmonic relation between *ṛṣabha* and *gāndhāra*. Eight kinds of units (*kalā*), together with the rhythm *caccatputa*, were used in it.

VI. The *dhaivatī* was sung as a hexatonic *jātirāga*, when the fifth note was dropped, and as pentatonic, when both the notes *ṣaḍja* and *pañcama* were dropped. It was determined by the *ṛṣabha-mūrcchanā* and was used with the dramatic song (*dhruvāgīti*), *prāveśikī*.

VII. The *naiṣādī* had its sonants, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra* and *niṣāda*. *Ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *pañcama* were used in greater number. It used to be manifested as hexatonic, when *pañcama* was dropped, and as pentatonic, when *ṣaḍja* and *pañcama* were left out. It was used with the dramatic song, *naiṣkrāmikī*. The rhythm like *caccatputa*, with sixteen units (*kalā*) was used in it.

Mataṅga fully deals with the forms and characteristics of the seven pure *jātirāgas* in his *Bṛhaddeśi* (Trivāndrum ed., 1930, pp. 70-73). Śāraṅgadeva also describes about them fully in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. The *jātirāgas* were exclusively meant for the dramatic purpose. Their forms might have been more developed during the times of Bharata and Mataṅga, but they were traditionally cultured from the times of *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.) and *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.).

It has already been said that the *grāmarāgas*

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evolved from the *jātirāgas*. The references of them are found in the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa* and *Nāradīśikṣā*, and other books. Nārada describes, in short, their tonal forms and characteristics in his *Śikṣā*, but their detailed descriptions are found in Śāraṅgadeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Regarding the *grāmarāgas*, Nārada says in the *Śikṣā* :

I. Ṛṣabhotthitaḥ ṣaḍjahato dhaivata-sahitaśca
pàñcamo yatra /
Nipatati madhyama-rāge tanniṣādaṃ ṣāḍavaṃ
vidyāt //[87]

That is, when the *grāmarāga* is sung with the five notes, *ṛṣabha*, *ṣaḍja*, *dhaivata*, *pañcama* and *niṣāda* in the medium basic scale (*madhyama-grāma*), it is known as the *ṣāḍava*.

II. Yadi pañcamo viramate gāndhāraścāntara-
svaro bhavati /
Ṛṣabho niṣāda-sahitastaṃ pañcamamidṛśaṃ
vidyāt //[88]

When *pañcama* rests on *madhyama*, the *grāmarāga*, *pañcama* is evolved with the notes, *gāndhāra*, *ṛṣabha* and *niṣāda*.

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87. ऋषभोत्थितः षड्जहतो धैवतसहितश्च पञ्चमो यत्र ।
निपतति मध्यमरागे तन्निषादं षाड़वं विद्यात् ॥

88. यदि पञ्चमो विरमते गान्धारश्चान्तरस्वरो भवति ।
ऋषभो निषादसहितस्तं पञ्चममीदृशं विद्यात् ॥

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III. Gāndhārasyādhipatyena niṣādasya gatāgataiḥ /
Dhaivatasya ca daurvalyān madhyama-grāma-muchyate //[89]

When *gāndhāra* is used profusely, *niṣāda* is used repeatedly, *dhaivata* becomes weak i.e. *dhaivata* is used, sparingly and the notes, *ṣaḍja* and *ṛṣahha* are used, the *grāmarāga* that evolves, is known as the *madhyama*.

IV. Iṣatspṛṣto niṣādasyastu gāadhāraścādhiko bhavet /
Dhaivataḥ kampito yatra ṣaḍjagrāmaṃ tu nirdiśet //[90]

When *ṣaḍja* is used, *niṣāda* is sparingly used, *gāndhāra* is used in a greater number, *dhaivata* used to vibrate, and when it touches the other notes, the tonal form that evolves out of them, is called the *ṣaḍjagrāma*. It is presented at the free will of the artists.

V. Antaraḥ svara--saṁyuktā kākalir-yatra dṛśyate /
Taṃ tu sādhāritaṃ vidyāt-pañcamasthaṃ tu kaiśikaṃ //[91]

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89. गान्धारस्याधिपत्येन निषादस्य गतागतैः ।
धैवतस्य च दौर्बल्यान् मध्यमग्राममुच्यते ॥

90. ईषत्स्पृष्टो निषादस्तु गान्धारश्चाधिको भवेत् ।
धैवतः कम्पितो यत्र षड्जग्रामं तु निर्दिशेत् ॥

91. अन्तरः स्वरसंयुक्ता काकलिर्यत्र दृश्यते ।
तं तु साधारितं विद्यात् पञ्चमस्थं तु कैशिकम् ॥

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When *niṣāda* appears as *kaiśika*, composed of two microtones of its own *plus* two microtones of the note, *ṣadja*, and *gāndhāra* appears with four microtonal units (two of its own *plus* two of the note, *madhyama*), and *madhyama* appears as *madhyama-sādhāraṇa*, it is called the *sādhārita*.

VI. Kaiśikaṃ bhāvayitvā tu svaraiḥ sarvaiḥ samantataḥ /
Yasmāt tu madhyame nyāsastasmāt kaiśika-madhyamaḥ //[92]

When all the notes of the *kaiśika-grāmarāga* are used and *madhyama* is used as the final note, the *grāmarāga* is known as the *kaiśika-madhyama*.

VII. Kākalir-dṛśyate yatra prādhānyaṃ pañcamasya tu /
Kaśyapaḥ kaiśikaṃ prāha madhyama-grāma-sambhavaṃ //[93]

Nārada says that when *kākali-niṣāda* is used and *pañcama* is not prominent, the *grāmarāga*, *kaiśika* evolves from the medium basic scale. These *grāmarāgas* are similar in forms to those of the *rāgas*, depicted in the Kuḍimiyāmalai inscription.

In the early thirteenth century we find many changes in the tonal forms and manifesta-

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92. कैशिकं भावयित्वा तु स्वरैः सर्वैः समन्ततः।
यस्मात् तु मध्यमे न्यासस्तस्मात् कैशिकमध्यमः॥

93. काकलिर्दृश्यते यत्र प्राधान्यं पञ्चमस्य तु।
कश्यपः कैशिकं प्राह मध्यमग्रामसम्भवम्॥

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tions of the *grāmarāgas*. Then the *gāndharva* type of music was absolutely replaced by the classical *deśī* one. Many other modified forms of the new *grāmarāgas* evolved at that time. Śāraṅgadeva gives detailed descriptions of the *grāmarāgas*, *saḍjagrāma*, *śuddha-kaiśika*, *bhinna-kaiśika-madhyama*, *bhinnatāna*, *bhinnakaiśika*, etc. Regarding the *ṣaḍjagrama* he says that it was composed of seven notes, its final (*nyāsa*) note was *madhyama*, and *ṣaḍja* was *upanyāsa*, and in descent (*avarohane*) *prassānanta-mūrcchanā* was used. The form of the *mūrcchanā* was 'sá-ni-dha-pa-ma-ga-ri-sa.' The *ṣaḍja-mūrcchanā* also enriched the *grāmarāga*. The *kākali-niṣāda* and *antara-gāndhāra* were used, and it was impregnated with the aesthetic sentiments, *veera*, *raudra* and *adbhuta*. It evolved from the *ṣaḍjagrāma* and was sung during the rainy season, in the first part of the day. This description of the *ṣaḍjagrāma-grāmarāga* is different from that of the *Nāradī-śiksā*. Thus we find that when the formalization of the regional tunes was in process, the forms of the *grāmarāgas* were changed to some extent, and the pure types of them were gradually replaced by the mixed and new ones.

We have already mentioned the *grāmarāgas*, that evolved from the *gītis* or *rāgagītis*, as depicted in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*. Now let us enumerate the *grāmarāgas* and the formalized *deśī-rāgas*, as described by Śāraṅgadeva in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*.

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CHART II

Rāgagīti	Latter form of Grāmarāgas
1. Śuddhā ...	ṣaḍjagrāma, madhyamagrāma, śuddha-kaiśika, śuddha-pañcama, śuddha-kaiśika-madhyama, śuddha-sādhārita, śuddha-ṣāḍava.
2. Bhinnā ...	bhinna-pañcama, bhinna-ṣaḍja, bhinna-kaiśika, bhinnatāna, bhinna-kaiśika-madhyama.
3. Gauḍī ...	gauḍa-kaiśika, gauḍa-pañcama. gauḍa-kaiśika-madhyama.
4. Vesarā ...	sauvira, ṭhakka, botta, mālava-kauśika, ṭhakka-kauśika, hindola, mālava-pañcama, vesarā-ṣāḍava.
5. Sādhāraṇī ...	rūpa-sādhāriṭa, śaka, bhaṣmāṇa-pañcama, nartta, gāndhāra-pāñcama, ṣaḍja-kaiśika, and kakubha.

CHART III

Serial Nos.	Rāgas	Number of Rāgas
1.	Rāga	Twenty
2.	Rāgāṅgāṇi, current in ancient times.	Eight
3.	Bhāṣāṅgāṇi	Eleven
4.	Kriyāṅgāṇi	Twelve
5.	Rāgāṅgāṇi	Three
6.	Upāṅgāṇi, current in modern times.	Thirteen
7.	Bhāṣāṅgāṇi (modern)	Nine
8.	Upāṅgāṇi (modern)	Twenty-seven

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CHART IV

Serial No.	Description of Rāgas	Number
1.	Grāma-rāga	Thirty
2.	Upa-rāga	Eight
3.	Rāga	Twenty
4.	Rāgāṅgani, current in ancient times.	Eight
5.	Bhāṣāṅgāṇi (do)	Eleven
6.	Kriyāṅgāṇi (do)	Twelve
7.	Upāṅgāṇi (do)	Three
8.	Bhāṣā-rāga (do)	Ninety-six
9.	Bibhāṣā-rāga (do)	Twenty
10.	Antara-bhāṣā (do)	Four
11.	Rāgas, current in modern times.	Thirteen
12.	Bhāṣāṅgāṇi (do)	Nine
13.	Kriyāṅgāṇi (do)	Three
14.	Upāṅgāṇi (do)	Twenty-seven

That is, from the six or seven basic *grāmarāgas*, *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *madhyamagrāma*, (*śúddha*)-*kaiśika*, *śúddha-pañcama*, (*śuddha*)-*kaiśika-madhyama* (*śuddha*)-*sādhārita*, and (*śuddha*)-*ṣāḍava*,[94] and also from other (twenty-three) *grāmarāgas*, that evolved from the *rāgagītis*, *bhinnā*, *gauḍī*, *vasarā* and *sādhāraṇī*, fifteen *bhāṣā-rāgas* (= *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā* and *antarabhāṣā*), *sauvira*, *kakubha*, *ṭhakka*, *pañcama*, *bhinna-pañcama*, *ṭhakka-kaiśika*, *hindola*, *botta*, *mālavakaiśika*, *gāndhāra-pañcama*, *bhinna-ṣaḍja vesarā-ṣāḍava*, *mālava-pañcama*, *bhinnā-tāna* and *pañcama-ṣāḍava* evolved. Again from these different types of *bhāṣā-rāgas*, other

94. It has already been mentioned that when *kaiśika* and *kaiśika-madhyama* are considered as one and the same *rāga* i.e. *grāmarāga*, the numbers of the basic *grāmarāgas* are six.

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bhāṣā-upa-rāgas, like *sauvirī*, *vegamadhyama*, *sādhārita*, *gāndhārī*, etc. (hundred and forty-seven) evolved. Besides them, different *deśī-rāgas* and *upa-rāgas* evolved as *rāgāṅga*, *bhāṣāṅga*, *kriyāṅga* and *upāṅga*. The *aṇga-rāgas* were *saṅkarābharaṇa*, *ghantārava*, *dīpaka*, *chāyā*, etc. (thirty-four *bhāṣā* or subordinate *rāgas*). It should be noted that different kinds of *rāgas* of the '*kṛ*' stock also evolved as the *kriyāṅga-rāgas*, and they were twelve in number and sometimes more than that. The *bhāṣā-rāgas* were known as 'ancient ones' (*pūrva-prasiddha*). There evolved again forty-nine modern types of *rāgas*, and they were : *madhyamādī*, *mālavaśrī*, *toḍi*, *bāṅgāla*, *bhairava*, *varātī*, *gurjarī*, *gauḍa*, *kolāhala*, *vasanta*, *dhānaśī*, *deśī*, *deśākhya*, *dombakrī* (afterwards *vāgeśrī*), *prathama-mañjari*, *śuddha-varātikā* *āsāvarī*, *ādi-kāmoda*, *nāgadhvani*, *velāvalī*, *natta*, *karṇāta-bāṅgāla* and others.

Śāraṅgadeva estimates the total number of the *rāgas* (*grāmarāgas* and all kinds of *bhāṣā-rāgas*) as 264,[95] and they are :

Grāmarāgas ..	30	Bhāṣaṅgas ..	11
Upa-rāgas ..	8	Kriyāṅgas ..	12
Rāgas ..	20	Upāṅgas ..	3
Bhāṣā-rāgas ..	96	Rāgāṅgas (modern)	13
Vibhāṣā-rāgas ..	20	Bhāṣṅgas ..	9
Antarabhāṣās ..	4	Kriyāṅgas ..	3
Rāgāngaṣ (ancient)	8	Upāṅgas ..	27
		Total	264

95. They have been mentioned before.

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In the *Saṇgītasāra* by the philosopher-musician, Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya (fifteenth century A.D.), we come accross the genus-species (*janya-janaka*) scheme, for the first time in the domain of Indian music. Vidyāraṇya classifies 15 basic and 50 subordinate *rāgas*. It seems that following the method of Vidyāraṇya, Kṛṣṇadāsa in the *Gīta-prakāśa*, Paṇḍit Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala in the *Sadrāga-candrodya*, Rāmāmatya in the *Svaremelakalā-nidhi*, Somanāth in the *Rāga-vivodha*, Govinda-Dīkṣita in the *Saṅgītasudhā*, Veṅkatamakhī in the *Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*, Tuljā in the *Saṅgīta-sārāmṛta*, Lochana-kavi in the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*, Nārada (IV) in the *Rāganirūpaṇa*, Ahobala in the *Saṅgita-pārijāta*, Śrīnivāsa in the *Rāgatattva-vibodha*, Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa in the *Hṛdayakautuka*, Rājā Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva in the *Saṇgita-nārāyaṇa*, Kavi Nārāyaṇa in the *Saṅgita-saraṇi*, Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa in the *Saṅgīta-sūryodaya*, Gopī-nāth in the *Kavicintāmani* have classified and discussed various main and subordinate *rāgas*, in different periods. Some of them were original in their methods and interpretations, and some were only the compilers. So some differences of opinion in the methods and divisions of the *rāgas* were inevitable. Generally we come across different views, regarding the names and classifications of the *rāgas*, and those views are ascribed to the authorities of the ancient authors like Brahmā, Śiva or Sadāśiva, Bharata, Mataṅga, Kohala, Nārada, Someśvara,

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Kallināth and others. But it is very difficult to correctly ascertain their genuine authorship and views. As for example, Brahmā who was no other than Brahmābharata of the early sixth-fifth century B.C., was purely the expounder of the *gāndharva* or *mārga* type of classical music. But we erroneously ascribe to him the authorship of the *rāga-rāgiṇī* scheme.

From the historical records, we know that the *rāga-rāgiṇī* scheme or the male-female principle did not come into being till the sixteenth-seventeenth century A.D. So, when we interpret the views (*mata*) of Brahmā, regarding the classification or enumeration of the *rāgas*, we do injustice to the ancient authority, Brahmā-bharata. Similar injustice is done when we interpret the views ascribed to Śiva (*śivamataṃ*), Bharata (*bharatamataṃ*), and others. Because Śiva was no other than Sadāśivabharata, who flourished after Brahmābharata, probably in the 600-500 B.C. and so it will be unwise to ascribe to him the authorship of the male-female scheme of the *deśī-rāgas*. Bharata, the compiler of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, flourished in the second century A.D. During his time, *rāgas* were in the form of *jatis*, and so the *rāga-rāgiṇī* scheme or division was quite unknown in his time. It is a historical fact, that '*Bharata*' was a common title like Indra, Brahmā, Vyāsa, Prājapati, etc., and we know that the ancient playwrights and musicologists like Brahmā, Śiva, Mataṅga

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and others were known as Brahamā-bharata, Sadāśiva-bharata, Muni-Bharata, Mataṅga-bharata, Kohala-bharata, etc. Therefore it is probable that the words *Brahmā-mataṃ*, *Śiva-mataṃ*, *Bharata-mataṃ*, etc. were coined by some authors in the latter periods, to ascribe some authenticity to their newly divised scheme of divisions of the *rāgas*, otherwise no genuine historical evidence is yet available regarding them. The views of Someśvara of the *Abhilāsārtha-cintāmani*, and Kallināth, the commentator may be considered as historical. Regarding the views of Nārada, there is also much controversy, because there flourished different Nāradas in different periods, as the authors of music, and so it is possible that they interpreted their views in different ways. But it should be remembered that if by quoting the *Nārada-mataṃ* we ascribe the authorship of the *rāga-rāgiṇī* division to Nārada of the *Śikṣā* of the first century A.D., it will be rediculous and unhistorical, as the *jātirāgas* and *grāmarāgas* of the *gāndharva* type of music were only prevalent, and neither the formalized regional or *deśī-rāgās* nor any male-female scheme of the *rāgas* did come into being at that time.

Now, let us describe in short how the *rāgas* of the present northern system of classical music evolved from the *melas* (basic scales).

The *mūrcchanās* are the fountainhead of the *rāgas*. The *rāgas*, we know, came into being through the process of gradual evolution : '*mūrc-*

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chanodbhuta-rāgānāṃ prasphutaṃ śāstra-sammataṃ'. Now, what is a *mūrcchanā*? A *mūrcchanā* is the combination of seven notes, with their ascent and descent: '*kramāt svarānāṃ saptānāṃ ārohacāvarohanaṃ*'. There was a time when *rāgas* were known by their respective *mūrcchanās*, and so the *mūrcchanās* used to play an important rôle in the domain of Indian classical music, from the beginning of the Christian era upto the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. By different adjustments of different *mūrcchanās*, numerous *rāgas* evolved, and those adjustments, says Paṇḍit V.N. Bhāt-khaṇḍe, can be classified into nine orders. They are,

I. Ascending with 7 and descending with 7 notes,
II. ,, ,, 7 ,, ,, ,, 6 ,, ,
III. ,, ,, 7 ,, ,, ,, 5 ,, ,
IV. ,, ,, 6 ,, ,, ,, 7 ,, ,
V. ,, ,, 6 ,, ,, ,, 6 ,, ,
VI. ,, ,, 6 ,, ,, ,, 5 ,, ,
VII. ,, ,, 5 ,, ,, ,, 7 ,, ,
VIII. ,, ,, 5 ,, ,, ,, 6 ,, ,
IX. ,, ,, 5 ,, ,, ,, 5 ,, ,

The *rāgas* originate from	1	= 1 kind
,, ,, ,,	2	= 6 kinds
,, ,, ,,	3	= 15 ,,
,, ,, ,,	4	= 6 ,,
,, ,, ,,	5	= 36 ,,
,, ,, ,,	6	= 9 ,,
,, ,, ,,	7	= 15 ,,
,, ,, ,,	8	= 9 ,,
,, ,, ,,	9	= 225 ,,
Total:		= 322 *rāgas*

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Paṇḍit Mahāvaidyā-Nātha Śivan finds out a formulative process of the evolution of the South Indian 72 *melakartās* or *melas*. He says in his *The Mahā-Rāga-Mālikā* (*1937*) that by the combination and permutation of 16 notes, sa ; ra, ri, ru ; ga, gi, gu ; ma, mi ; pa ; dha, dhi, dhu , na, ni and nu, Veṅkatamakhī describes 72 *melakartās*. Any kind of crooked order or *vakragati* is not used in his 72 *melakartās*. So there are only 6 possible combinations of two varying notes in the *pūrvāṅga*, 'ri and ga', and 6 combinations of 'dha and ni' in the *uttarāṅga*. Any one of the 6 combinations of 'ri and ga' in the *pūrvāṅga* might be combined with any one of the 6 combinations of 'dha and ni' in the *uttarāṅga*. We get, therefore, $6 \times 6 = 36$ variations of the *melakartās* in the *śuddha-madhyama* set. Similarly, another set of 36 *melakartās* are found with the *prati-madhyama*, total number of which is 72 *melakartās*.

R. Śrīnivāsan is of opinion : "A *rāga* is a succession of notes, the notes being chosen and combined in certain definite ways. In the first place, we have what are called the *melakartās*—the major types—in which all the seven notes of a scale occur in their natural order, both in the ascending and the descending scales. They are seventy-two in number and are generally divided into two groups of thirty-six each, according to whether they have the *śuddha-madhyama* or *prati-madhyama*-F or F-sharp. It is not difficult to see how seventy-two *rāgas* are

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possible. We must have 'sa' to start with, then we must have a 'ri', a 'ga', a 'ma', then a 'pa' and then a 'dha' and a 'ni'. For 'ma' we get thirty-six ways of combining these; and so we get seventy-two on the whole. If we took the fifty-three *śruti* each (as R. H. M. Bosanquet admitted) and worked up the *rāgas* on the above mentioned principle, we should get 396,900 major or *melakartā-rāgas*; on the other hand, the twenty-two *śruti*-scale would give 1,024. But at present only about twenty to twenty-five of these seventy-two[96] *melakartās* are used".[97]

Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe devises 10 *melas* to determine the *rāgas* of the North Indian system of music. Paṇḍit Lochanakavi (1560 A.D.) devises also 12 *saṁsthānas* or *melas* for the determination of all kinds of *rāgas* before him, but Bhātkhaṇḍejī makes his system of division of the *melas* more simple. Let us illustrate those 10 *melas*, having its standard scale (*śúddha-mela*) as *vilāvala*, compared to 10 corresponding *melakartās* of the South Indian system of music :

96. It is said that only 19 out of 72 *melakartās* were current in Veṅkatamakhi's time.

97 *Indian Art and Art-Crafts* (Madras, 1923) pp. 16-17.

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CHART V

Serial. No.	Hindusthāni	Karnātic	10 *melas* of the Hindusthāni system
1.	Kalyāna	Kalyāni	Sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni
2.	Vilāvala	Saṅkarābharaṇaṃ	sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni
3.	Khāmbāj	Kambodhi or Hari-kambodhi	sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-*ni*
4.	Bhairava	Māyāmālavagaula	sa-*ri*-ga-ma-pa-*dha*-ni
5.	Pūrvi	Kāmavardhaṇi	sa-*ri*-ga-ma-pa-*dha*-ni
6.	Mārowā	Gamakakṛya	sa-*ri*-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni
7.	Kāphi	Kharaharapriyā	sa-ri-*ga*-ma-pa-dha-*ni*
8.	Āsāvarī	Natabhairavi	sa-ri-*ga*-ma-pa-*dha*-*ni*
9.	Bhairavi	Toḍi or Hanumantoḍi	sa-*ri*-*ga*-ma-pa-*dha*-*ni*
10.	Toḍi	Varāli	sa-*ri*--*ga*-ma-pa-*dha*-ni[98]

The *melas*, *melakartās* or *thātas*[99] are the basic *rāgas*, and the other *rāgas* evolve upon those bases. The *rāgas* are the soul or life-force (*prāṇa*) of Indian Music and so they should be studied with a historical perspective and from the psychological standpoint.

98. The *italics* indicate the flat (*komala*) notes.

99. The word '*thāta*' was adopted in the early seventeenth century A.D. It is said that the word *thāta* is a Indo-Persian product.

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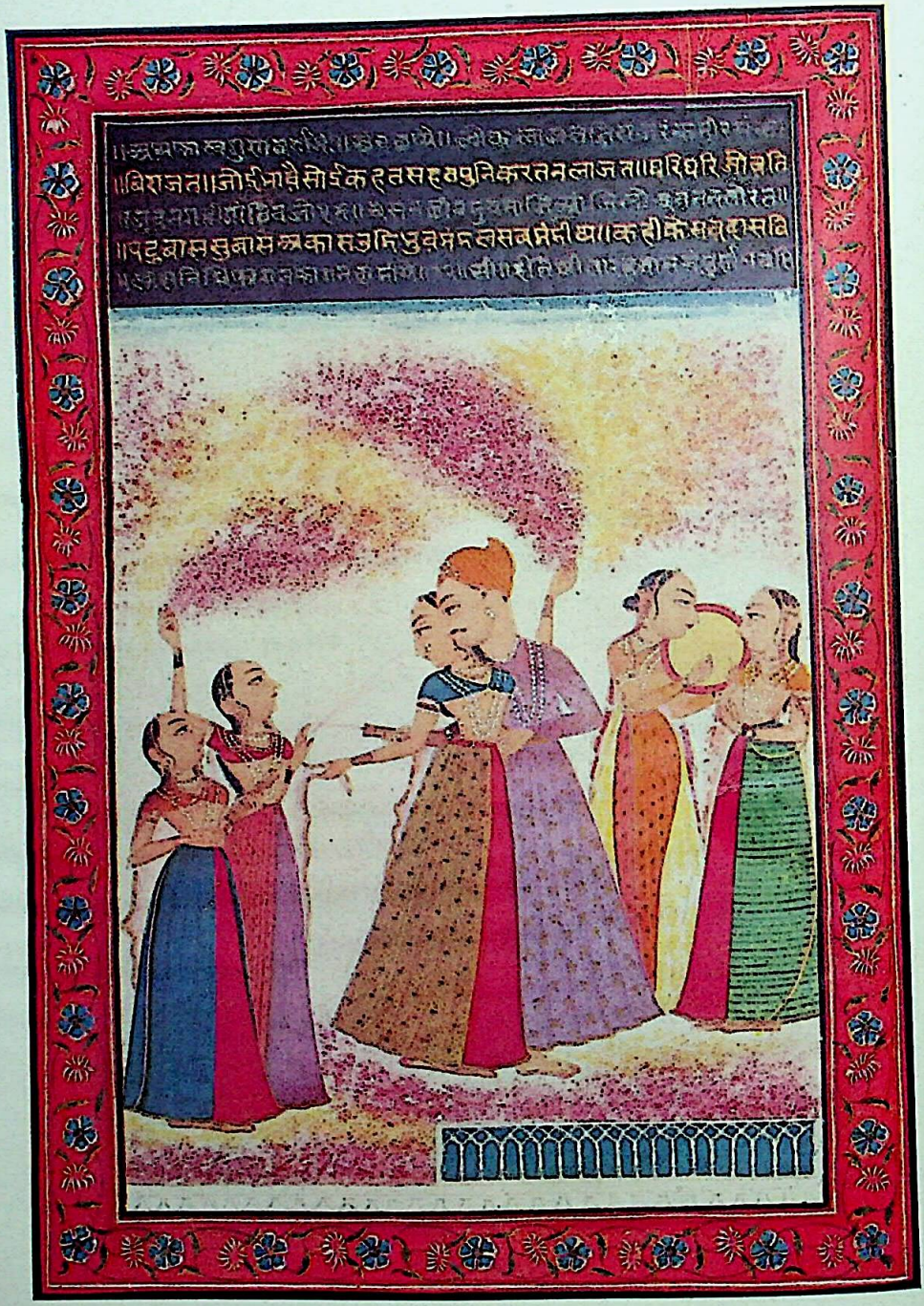

RAGA VASANTA

(Yodhapur Collection, early 18th century A.D.)

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Chapter Five

DEVELOPMENT OF RĀGA VASANTA

Let us take an illustration of the *rāga vasanta* and its development, by which we shall be able to know the nature of the form and development of all kinds of *rāgas*, that evolved gradually to enrich the treasure of Indian Music.

Vasanta is an ancient *rāga*. It evolved perhaps between the time of Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) and that of Pārśadeva (seventh or nineth-eleventh century A.D.). Mataṅga discusses about the *rāgas*, *hindola*, *mālavakauśika*, (not *mallakauśika*), *kakubha*, *saindhavī*, etc. in his *Bṛhaddeśī*, but why he remains silent about the *rāga vasanta*, is not known. Mataṅga mainly follows his predecessors, Kaśyapa, Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Tumburu and others (third-fifth century A.D.), and as they have not discussed the *rāga vasanta*, so Mataṅga also remains silent. Pārśadeva discribes *vasanta*, along with the *rāgas*, *bhairava*, *bhairavī*, *hindola*, *madhyamādi*, *chāyānata*, *mallāra*, etc. Perhaps the *rāgas*, *bhairava* and *bhairavī* evolved in or sometime before the nineth-eleventh century A.D. Parśadeva classifies *vasanta* in the *rāgāṅga* group and considers it as subordinate (*aṅga*) *rāga* of the *mārga-hindola*. From this we come to know that

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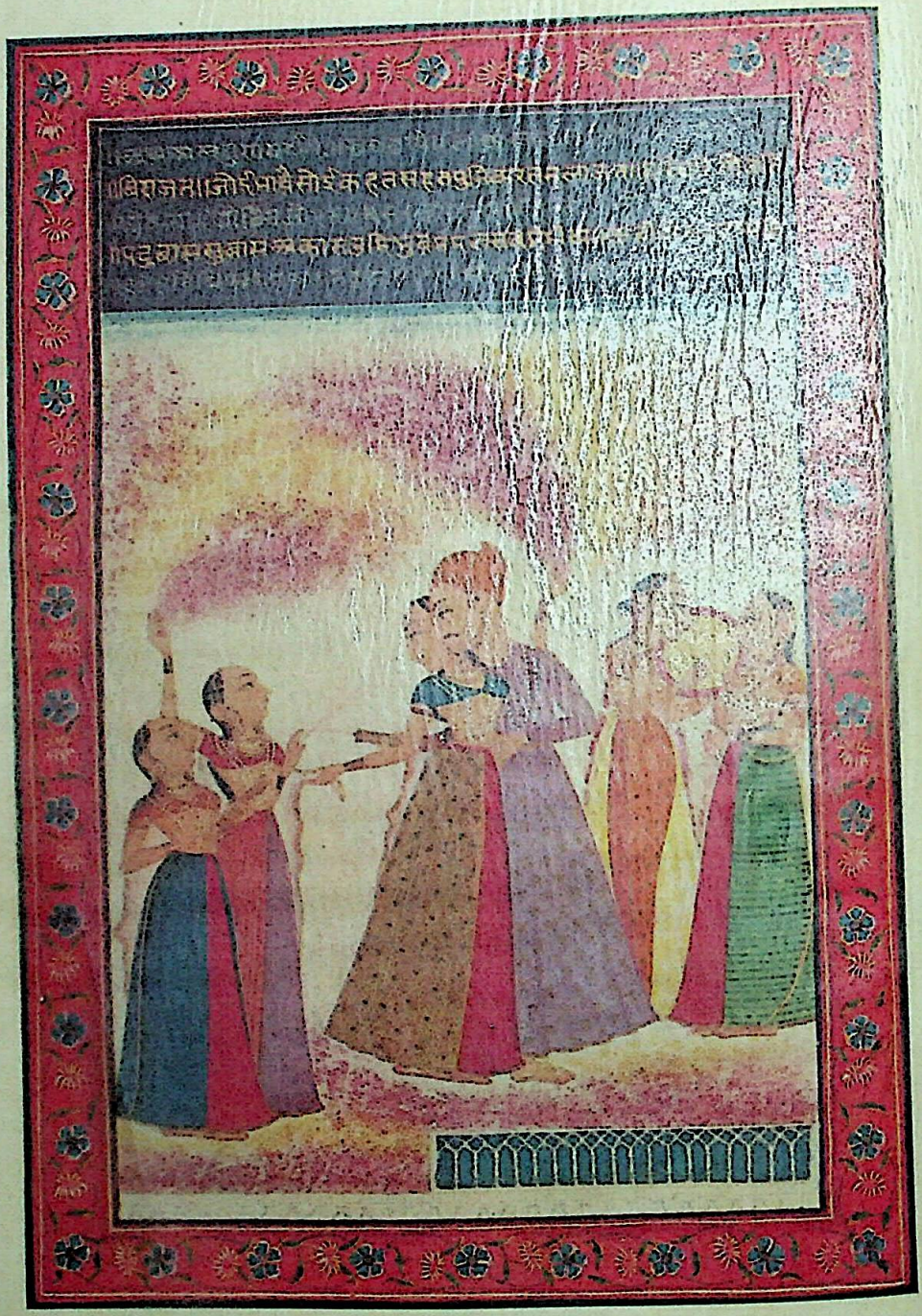

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vasanta evolved from the *mārga-hindola* : '*mārga-hindola-rāgāṅgaṃ*', etc. Pārśadeva says that *vasanta* is a pentatonic (*auḍava*) *rāga*, as the notes *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* are absent from it. Its sonant, initial and final notes are tonic (*ṣaḍja*). It makes itself manifest in the space extended from the *madhyama* note of the high octave to *ṣaḍja* of the middle one. The first and fifth notes generally vibrate (*kampita*). Its dominant aesthetic sentiment is of the nature of the primal creative urge or *śṛṅgāra* ('*śṛṅgare viniyujyate*'), and it brings detachment from all desires ('*nirveda*').

Nārada of the *Saṅgīta-makaranda* (fifteenth-sixteenth century) includes *vasanta* in the list of the masculine *rāgas* ('*puruṣaḥ smritaḥ*'). He says that it is also known as '*śuddha-vasanta*' or pure type of *vasanta* ('*vasantaṃ śuddha-saṅjñaśca*'). Mammatācārya considers *vasanta* as the root or parent *rāga* (*janaka-rāga*), and *bhairava*, *revagupta*, *taṅka*, etc. evolved from it. Someśvara also admits this view. But in the early thirteenth century A.D. Śāraṅgadeva describes *vasanta* in a different way. He says that *vasanta* evolved from *hindola*, which had its origin even before the time of Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century). Śāraṅgadeva designates *vasanta* as *deśī-hindola*, as both the *rāgas*, *hindola* and *vasanta* are sung on the occasion of the sacred spring or *holi* festival (*vasantotsave*). The difference between *vasanta* and *hindola* lies in the fact that *vasanta*

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is heptatonic, whereas *hindola* is pentatonic in form, devoid of the notes, *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata*.

Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) calls *vasanta* as *śuddha-vasanta*, in the *Savaramelakalānidhi*. He differs from Śāraṅgadeva regarding the form of the *rāga vasanta*, as *vasanta* is hexa-heptatonic (*ṣāḍava-saṁpūrṇa*) in form, the fifth note, *pañcama* being absent in the ascent. In the *Rāgasāgara*, ascribed to Nārada-Dattila, *vasanta* is described as a male (*puruṣa*) *rāga*. It is sober and at the same time majestic in its nature. In the *Rāgārṇava*, as quoted in the *Śārāṅgadara-paddhati*, *vasanta* has been described as the fourth subordinate (*bhāṣā*) *rāga* to *bhairava*. Puṇḍarika-Viṭṭhala supports the view of Pārśadeva and says in the *Rāgamālā* that *vasanta* is known as one of the sons (subordinate *rāga*) of *hindola*, being evolved from it. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) holds a different view, because he takes *vasanta* as a parent *rāga* (*janaka-rāga*), and *hindola* to have evolved from it. But, from the historical viewpoint, Somanāth's estimation seems untenable, as the origin of *hindola* is prior to *vasanta*, which is proved by Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*. Paṇḍit Dāmodara describes *vasanta* as heptatonic, having sonant (*vādī*), initial (*graha*) and final (*nyāsa*) notes as tonic (*saḍja*). There are differences of opinion regarding the structure of *vasanta*. Its tonal form, as current in the present Hinḍusthānī and Carnātic systems of music, appears different in many

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respects from the ancient one. Besides, the traditional form of *śuddha vasanta*, as used in the present system of music, is also different in different schools of music. As for example, in almost all the *dhruvapadas* and *padāvalī-kīrtanas* in Bengal, *vasanta* i.e. *śuddha-vasanta* is used with its penta-hexatonic (*auḍava-ṣāḍava*) form, as sharp (*śuddha*) *dhaivata*, and sharp and displaced *madhyama*, and *pañcama* are dropped (*varjita*). From this it is understood that *vasanta*, as used in the present Hindusthānī system of music, with its displaced (*komala*) *dhaiyata* and *pañcama*, can be called as *paraja-vasanta*.

In the South Indian system of music, we generally find three types of *vasanta* and they are : *vasanta*, *śuddha-vasanta* and *rāga-vasanta*, which differ from one another, in their tonal forms. Besides them, there are other variants of *vasanta*, which originate from the mixture of different *rāgas*. They are : *kala-vasanta*, *kalyāna-vasanta*, *gopī* or *gopikā-vasanta*, *bhoga-vasanta*, *vasanta-bhairavī*, *vasanta-mukhāri* *vasanta-vaḍāri*, *vīra-vasanta*, *vāhāra-vasanta* or *vasanta-vāhāra*, *hindola-vasanta*, etc. It is interesting to note that all these variants imbibe the spirit and atmosphere of the *rāga vasanta*.

We get a heptatonic (*saṁpūrṇa*) form of *vasanta*, with sharp (*śuddha*) *dhaivata*, and *pañcama*, which, it is said, came down from the Kheyāliā and Veeṇkāra lines of Miāṅ Tānsen. Again we get an old type of *vasanta*, possessed of

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penta-heptatonic (*auḍava-saṁpūrṇa*) form. Its tonal arrangements are : 'sa ga ma dha ni, sa ni dha ma ga, ma dha ni sa, ni dha, pa ma ga re, sa'. In the Senī School of music, we find a form of *vasanta* with *pañcama* : 'sa ga ma-dha ni-dha-sa,- ni-re ni-dha-pa ma ga, ma-ga-ri-sa, sa-ma ma-ga, ma-dha-ni-sa', etc. Besides, we come across another type of *vasanta*, devoid of *pañcama*, and all other notes are sharp or *śuddha*. Its tonal structure consists of the notes, in both the ascent and the descent : 'sa ga ma dha ni—sa ni dha ma ga ri/ sa. Saṅgīta-Nāyaka Gopeśwara Banerjee says that Miāṅ Tānsen and his followers composed this type of the *rāga*, but we do not know whether it is historically true or not. This type of *vasanta* is composed of sharp of *śuddha-madhyama* and displaced (*komala*) *niṣāda*, but the note, *pañcama* is dropped. The tonal arrangement of this type is : 'sa ga ma dha ni—sa ni dha ma ga, ma ga ri/ sa'.

Paṇḍit Sudarśanācārya says in the *Saṅgīta-sudarśaṇa* that the displaced *ṛṣabha*, sharp *gāndhāra*, *dhaivata* and *niṣāda*, and both the sharp and displaced *madhyamas* are the special features of the *rāga vasanta*. In the ascent (*ārohane*), *ṛṣabha* and *pañcama* are generally dropped, and in the descent (*avarohane*), *ṛṣabha* is used in lesser number. Therefore the tonal arrangement of *vasanta* is : 'ni sa ga ma dha ma-ma-ma, ga ga ri /

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sa ni dha pa-ma dha-ni sa / ma-ma ga, ma-ma-ga sa sa-ni sa ri-sa ni-dha sa, ma-ga-ri sa / sa ma dha ni dha pa ma dha-ma ga-ri sa / sa ga ma dha sa dha-ni sa ga-ri sa, sa ni dha pa ma dha ma ga ri sa', etc. Sudarśanācārya says that this type of *vasanta* is adopted by the Dhrupadists, whereas the Kheyālists use a different type. Rādhāmohan Sen describes it in the *Saṅgīta-taraṅga* in a different way. He says that *vasanta*, with a displaced *dhaivata* and *ṛiṣabha*, together with *pañcama*, is known as *paraja-vasanta*. This view of Rādhāmohan Sen is accepted especially in the Bengal School of music. Again there are differences of opinion, regarding the male-female principle of the *rāga vasanta*. Some hold that *vasanta* is a *rāga*, and not *rāgini*, while *vāsantī* or *vāsantikā* is recognized as *rāgini*. Śāraṅgadeva includes *vasanta* in the category of *rāgāṅga*. Perhaps, in the end of the nineteenth or in the beginning of the twentieth century, we get various types of *vasanta*, evolved out of the basic scales, *vilāvala*, *pūrvī āsāvarī*, *mārowā* and *bhairavī*, which are equivalent to the South Indian basic scales, *saṅkarā-bharaṇa*, *māyāmalavagaula*, *kāmavardhanī*, *nata-bhairavī*, *gamakakriyā* and *hanumāna-toḍi*. From the basic scale, *pūrvī*, two types of *vasanta* evolved. In the above mentioned seven types of *vasanta*, we notice that the notes, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhārva*, *madhyama*, *dhaivata* and *niṣāda* have been used as both sharp and chromatic, i.e. *śuddha* and *komala*. Besides them, we find

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different settings of notes in *vasanta* in the South Indian system, and they are,

(*Italics indicate flat notes*)

(1) *Rāga-vasanta*—sa *re* ma pa *ni dha* sa—sa *ni dha* ma pa ma, ma ga *re* sa.

(2) *Vasanta*—sa ga ma *dha* ni sa—sa ni *dha* ma ga *ri* sa.

(3) *Śuddha-vasanta*—sa ri ga ma pa ni sa—sa dha ni pa ni ga ri sa.

Besides these three types, there are different types of *vasanta*, which are known as : *kanaka-vasanta*, *kala-vasanta*, *kalyāna-vasanta*, *gopikā-vasanta*, *bhoga-vasanta*, *vasanta-bhairavī*, *vasanta-mukhārī*, *vasanta-varālī*, *vīra-vasanta*, *hīndola-vasanta*, *gambhīra-vasanta*, *vasanta-velāvalī*, *vasanta-bhairava*, *tīvra-vasanta*, *vasanta-candrikā*, *lalita-vasanta*, *vasanta-pañcama*, *māyūra-vasanta*, *ṣāḍava-vasanta*, *vasanta-kumārī* or *kumārī-vasanta*, *komala-vasanta*, *māru-vasanta*, etc. The tonal structures of some of them are :

(1) *Kanaka-vasanta*—sa *ga* ma pa *ni dha* sa—sa *ni dha* pa ma *ga* ri sa (= hexa-heptatonic or *ṣāḍava-saṁpūraṇa*. *Ṛṣabha* is sharp (*śúddha*), and *ṛṣabha* is left in the descent (*avarohane*).

(2) *Kala-vasanta*—sa *ga ma* pa dha ni (dha) sa—sa ni (dha) pa *ma ga* sa (*niṣāda* is used as sharp, and it is composed of four microtones, and is known as *tīvra-dhaivata*).

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(3) *Kalyāna-vasanta*—sa *ga* ma *dha* ni ṡa—ṡa ni *dha* pa ma *ga* ri sa (penta-hexatonic).

(4) *Gopikā-vasanta*—sa ma pa *ni dha ni dha* ṡa—ṡa *ni dha* pa ma *ga* sa (penta-hexatonic).

(5) *Bhoga-vasanta*—sa *ri* ga *ma dha* ni ṡa—ṡa ni *dha ma* ga *ri* sa (hexa-hexatonic).

(6) *Vasanta-bhairavī*—sa *ri* ga ma *dha ni* ṡa—ṡa *ni dha* ma pa ma ga *ri* sa (hexa-heptatonic).

(7) *Vasanta-mukhārī*—sa ma ga ma pa *dha ni* ṡa—ṡa *ni dha* pa ma ga *ri* sa (hexa-heptatonic).

(8) *Vasanta-varālī*—sa ri ma pa *dha ni*—*ni dha* pa *ga* ri sa *ṇi* (hexa-heptatonic).

(9) *Vīra-vasanta*—sa *ga* ri ma pa sa—sa ni (dhá=) *ni* pa ma *ga* ri sa (penta-hexatonic).

(10) *Hindola-vasanta*—sa ga ma pa *dha ni dha* ṡa—ṡa *ni dha* pa ma *ga dha* ma *ga* sa (*ṛṣabha* is left; hexa-hexatonic).

Besides, we find the following new variants of *vasanta*:

I. *Gambhīra-vasanta*—*ri*, ma, ma, dha, *dha*.

II. *Tīvra-vasanta*—*ri*, ga, ma, dha, ni.

III. *Vasanta-velāvalī*—with all the sharp (*śúddha*) notes.

It has already been said that the *rāga pañcama* possesses the same specific character of *vasanta*, which creates the environment and

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spirit of the spring. In the Hindusthānī system of music, *pañcama* is different from *dīpaka*. Experts differ in their opinion, regarding the form and manifestation of *dīpaka* and *pañcama*. As regards *pañcama*, Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 A.D.) says: '*pañcama ri-pa-hīnaḥ syāt*', i.e., the *rāga pañcama* is pentatonic (*auḍava*) in form, as the notes, *ṛṣabha* and *pañcama* are dropped in it. It is interesting to note that the fifth note, *pañcama* is absent from the *rāga pañcama*. Some are of opinion that *dīpaka* and *pañcama* are one and the same *rāga*, as the ancient form of *dīpaka* was afterwards transformed into *pañcama*. But in truth, there is no genuine proof in support of this view. In the Viṣṇupur School of music, we get two types of *dīpaka*: one with *pañcama* and the other without it. As for example,

(a) *Dīpaka, with the note, pañcama*—

// ma dha dha ni dha sa, ni dha ma, ma, ma pa ga, *ri* sa, ṇi sa / sa ma, ma, ma, pa, ga, ma dha ni dha ni sa, sa *ri* ni, dha ni dha ma, pa-ga, ma pa ga, *ri* sa / etc.

(*b*) *Dīpaka without pañcama*—

// ma dha dha, ni ni dha ma, ma ga, ma dha ni dha, ma ga, *ri* sa / ma ma, ma ga, ma dha ni sa, *ri* sa ni dha, ma ma ga, *ri* sa / etc.

Paṇḍit Sudarśanācārya describes *pañcama* as a *rāga* of the morning. He says that the *rāga pañcama* is conceived as an issue (son) of the

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rāga, hindola-saindhavī, with displaced (*komala*) *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata,* sharp (*śúddha*) *gāndhāra, madhyama* and *niṣāda.*

The tonal structure of the *rāga pañcama* is—

sa ni, *ri* sa, sa ni *ri* ni *dha,* pa ma ga, ga ma *dha* ni, *ri* ni *dha* ma ga, *ri* sa / *ri* sa, *dha* ma ga-*ri* sa, *ri*-ni *re* sa, ma *dha,* pa ma *dha,* ma ga *ri* sa / etc.

Paṇḍit Viṣṇunārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe recognizes both the *rāgas, pañcama* and *dīpaka,* in his *Kramika-pustakamālikā* (vide Vol. V, pages 407-408 and Vol. VI, pages 40-41). He describes the *rāga pañcama* in two different ways, and they are :

(a) The hexatonic (*ṣāḍava*) form—*ma*-dha-sa, ni-dha, *ma*-dha, *ma*-ga, *re*-sa, sa-ma, ga, *ma*-dha, ni-dha, ni-*ma*-dha....

(b) The heptatonic (*saṁpūrṇa*) form—ga, *ma*-ga, *ri*-sa, ma, ma, ma-ga pa, *ma*-dha-*ma*-ma, dha-*ma*-ga, *ma*-dha-sa, sa *ri*-sa, *ri*-ni-dha, *ma*-dha-*ma*-ga-ga, *ri*-ga, *ma*-ga-*ri*-sa (with two *madhyamas*).

These two types of *pañcama* have evolved from the *mārowā* scale, and they are known as the *rāga* for the night. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe says that the *rāga dīpaka* has been evolved from the scale *pūrvī.* Some are of opinion that *Dīpaka* has been evolved from the scale *kalyāna* or *vilāvala.* It is hepta-heptatonic (*saṁpūrṇa-saṁpūrṇa*) in form and is recognized as the *rāga* of the

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evening. The tonal form of it is : sa, pa, ga-pa-ga-*ri*-sa, sa-ga-pa, *ma-dha*-pa, ga-*ma-dha* pa-sa, ni-sa-*re*-sa, pa, ga-pa-ga-*ri*-sa (*ṛṣahha*, *dhaivata* and *madhyama* are displaced). In the South Indian system, the tonal forms of *pañcama* and *dīpaka* are different from one another. As for example,

(a) *Pañcama*—sa ri dha dha pa *ni* sa—sa *ni* dha ma ma *ga* ri sa (*dhaivata* and *ṛṣabha* are sharp, displaced *niṣāda*, and penta-hexatonic in form).

(b) *Dīpaka*— sa ga *ma* pa *dha* pa sa—sa ni *dha* ni pa ma ga *ri* sa (*dhaivata* and *ṛṣabha* are displaced, and penta-hexatonic in form).

Besides these two forms, there are variants of *pañcamas*, in the Karnātic system, and they are : *kokila-pañcama*, *divya-pañcama*, *purṇa-pañcama*, *bhinna-pañcama*, *bhupāla-pañcama*, *lalita-pañcama*, *nāga-pañcama*, *śrī-pañcama*, *kāmoda-pañcama*, *āmra-pañcama*, *nata-pañcāma*, *dhaivata-pañcama*, *karma-pañcama*, etc. These variants evolve from the compound form of two or more *rāgas*. In the fifth-seventh century A.D., we find different types of *rāgas*, like *varāti*, *toḍi*, *gauḍī*, etc. In the latter period, different types of *bhairava*, *kedāra*, *gaurī*, *kāmoda*, *bāhāra*, *behāga*, *kānāḍā*, *śāraṅga*, *mallāra*, *nata* were devised by the creative genius of the progressive society. In the South Indian

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system too, we notice various forms of the above *rāgas*.

Besides the tonal forms and different music materials, aesthetic sentiments and feelings play an important rôle in Indian music. The emotional sentiments like serene calmness (*śānta*), compassion (*karuṇa*) and primal creative urge (*śṛṅgāra*) are predominant in the *rāga vasanta*. The sentiment of calmness (*sama*) brings a change in the corporal body (*tanu-vyabhicāra*), which is kown as awe and delight. Detachment from worldly pleasures (*nirveda* or *vairāgya*) also generates from this serene sentiment. Tears well from the eyes, as a result of love and devotion. It brings mental equilibrium and control over the senses. The sentiment like compassion makes the heart soft and sympathetic. It brings also tears in the eyes and causes sorrow, which enlightens the mind, instead of making it stupid and morbid. The prime sentiment, creative urge or *śṛngāra* is not an ordinary juvenile excitement or sexual passion, as it is generally believed, but it is a creative energy, that brings new life and inspiration. The subordinate mood (*anubhāva*) and its effect on the body (*tanu-vyābhicāra*) are known as the tranquil happiness and desire for celestial bliss. These are the aesthetic sentiments and moods of not only of the *rāga vasanta*, but also of the *rāgas*, *hindola*, *pañcama* and *vāhāra*, etc. Some are of opinion that *vāhāra* is a melody (*rāga*) of the sexual urge, and so it has been

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recognized as a *rāga* of the spring or *holi* festival. But this view is untenable. It may be a fact that the *rāga vāhāra* evolved in the later period, and it is closely connected with the *holi* festival. But it is true that the prime emotional sentiment, *śṛiṅgāra*, which predominates in the *rāga vāhāra*, makes it transcending and divine. The Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava savants and the *Ālaṁkārikas* recognize *śṛṅgāra* as the sentiment *par excellence* (*ādi-rasa*). Some are of opinion that *vāhāra* was very favourite with the mystic musician, Swāmi Haridāsa of Vṛndāvana, and he introduced it in the system of classical music, as a special *rāga* for the sacred *holi* festival. But it should be investigated whether it is historically correct.

Now, let us see how *rāga vasanta* evolved with a novel and concrete idea in the domain of Indian music. Paṇḍit Dāmodara describes *vasanta* as,

शिखण्डिबर्होच्चयबन्धा[1]चूड़ा
कर्णावतंसीकृतशोभनाङ्गी ।
इन्दीवरश्यामतनुर्विलासी
वसन्तिका स्यादलिमण्डश्रीः ॥

Vasanta is described here as a male *rāga*. He is

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1. (a) Alternative reading 'बद्धचूड़ा'।
   (b) A slight alternative description :
   शिखण्डिबर्होच्चयपीड़ा
   कर्णावतंशो रुदासपत्रा ।
   इन्दीवरश्यामतनुर्मनोज्ञा
   वसन्तिका स्यादलिमञ्जुलश्रीः ॥

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absorbed in the divine contemplation of Lord Kṛṣṇa, and is dressed himself as Kṛṣṇa. In the top of his turban, the peacock feather is attached. He made his earing of mango-leaves. His body is shining like a blue lotus. He is luxurious, and yet at the same time a true worshipper of divine beauty. The shining glow of his body looks like a swarm of dark-blue bees. The mango-leaves and blooming flowers attract the bees, mad for honey, and the green grasses and flowery creepers are the symbols of Nature. Lord Kṛṣṇa is the hero (*nāyaka*) of the vernal spring, and the *rāga vasanta* represents the beatific gradeur of the spring.

Gradually *vasanta* was conceived as an emobodiment or the representation of Kṛṣṇa. Paṇḍit Lochana-kavi (1650 A.D.) quotes a piece from *Tumbura-nātak*, relating to the time of the singing of the *rāga vasanta* as,

श्रीपञ्चमीं समारभ्य यावत्स्याच्छयणं हरेः।
तावद् वसन्तरागस्य गानमुक्तं मनीषिभिः॥

That is, the *rāga vasanta* is sung from the *Śrī-pañcamī*, in the month of *Māgha* (November-December) to the time, when Śrī Hari (Lord Kṛṣṇa) goes to take rest. Paṇḍit Śubhaṅkara of the *Saṅgita-dāmodara* (16th century A.D.) and Ghanśyāma-Narahari of the *Saṅgītasārasaṁgraha* (early 18th century A.D.) have referred to these lines, in favour of the specified time of the *rāga*

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vasanta. Somanāth (1909 A.D.) describes about *vasanta* as.

केशगर्किंशुक एष प्रवेशिताम्राङ्कुरः पिकस्य मुखे।
अरुणवसनौ वसन्तो गौर-सुवेषा रसालगतः॥

That is, the *rāga vasanta* has decorated his hairs with the *palāśa* flowers. The cuckoo. the messenger of the spring, is singing. *Vasanta* is also apparelled in an orange-red cloth, and the Nature around is glittering with golden bright hue. Prof. O. C. Gaṅgoly says that some of the *rāgas* have been named after some seasons, and sacred festivals of gods and goddesses. As for example, the *rāgas* like *megha*, *vasanta*, *hindola*, *śrī*, etc. are connected with the spring or *holi* festival. The *rāga hindola* previously used to be sung, in connection with the spring festival, *Saturnalia*. Afterwards it was recognized as the *rāga* of the *holi* festival. The characteristics of *vasanta* and *hindola* can also be applied to the *rāga madhumādhavī*. The word '*madhu*' indicates the spring season, and consequently *madhumādhavi* is known as the *rāga* of the spring. But it seems that it was originally the *rāga* of the rainy season, sung in the month of *Vaiśākha* (*kāla-vaiśākhī*). In ancient pictures of the *rāga madhumādhavī*, the scenes of the dust storm of the month of *Vaiśākha*, lightning and dances of the peacocks are depicted. In the manuscript of Nārada-Dattila's *Rāgasāgara*, preserved in the Madras Manuscript

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Library, we find the name of the *rāga* '*madhumāvatī*, which may be the real name of *madhumādhavī*. As the *rāga* was connected with the worship of Srī Kṛiṣṇa, it was known as *madhumādhavī*. Another *rāga prathama-mañjarī* has also connection with the spring season. The name of *prathama-mañjari* was afterwards changed into *patamañjari* (*patṭh-mañjarī*). The *rāga cyūta-mañjarī* is also connected with the spring or rainy season. The name '*cyūta-mañjarī*' signifies the new leaves or blossoms of the mango-tree, ('*cyuta*' means 'mango' and 'manjarī' signifies new leaves or blossom). It evolved from the *rāga hindola*. Another *rāga āmra-pañcamī* is connected with the summer season. So it is found that some of the beautiful *rāgas* have been named after some seasons and sacred festivals.

The *rāga vasanta* evolved out of the conceptions of some emotional sentiments and environments. The tonal arrangement of *vasanta* creates an atmosphere of the vernal season, and so the intuitive artists and musicologists connect this *rāga* with the vernal season, spring.

The spring is an intermediary season between the winter and the summer, and so it brings a balance between those two extreme seasons. The mystic poets symbolize the winter with death and the spring with life. They say that the spring comes after the winter, which means that death is overcome by life, as if

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the dream is replaced by the waking state, or the shadow of darkness is removed by the shining light. After the winter season, the spring appears with a newness of life, and it animates and elevates the body and mind of all living beings. The whole Nature looks barren and shattered during the cold winter season. With the advent of spring, new golden leaves come out of the branches of the trees. The barren earth is again bedecked with green grasses and flowers. The gloomy atmosphere and dull appearance of the universe is rejuvenated with new life. The people are then inspired with new hope and vigour.

In the West, the spring is considered as the symbol of revivification or rejuvenation. In this season, the Anglo-Saxon races perform a festival, in commemoration of the goddess Estore or Istārā, Freyjā, and others. The worship of Estore, or Istār, or Istārā is observed in the spring, in the month of March or April (Bengali *Fālguna* or *Caitra*). For this reason, Easter is known as the spring festival (*vasantotsava*). The *Vāsantīpūjā* and the autumnal *Durgāpūja* of India, and Christmas and Easter Festivals of the Christian countries have the same significance. The Christmas and Easter festivals are considered by the Christians as Church-festivals, and are observed in the memory of Christ's resurrection. All the Christians observe the day of Christ's death on the 25th December. They consider the 27th December

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as the day of Christ's resurrection. Dr. Frazer is of opinion that all the Messengers like Jesus the Christ, and gods and goddesses like Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Horas and the Asiatic goddesses, *Durgā*, *Vāsantī*, *Annapūrṇā* and *Jagaddhātrī* are no other than the solar deities. They represent also the corn-goddesses or vegetable-spirits. The Hindu belief differs from that of Dr. Frazer. The latter deals with this matter elaborately in the *Golden Bough*. Struss, Robertson, Conybear, Drews and other Western savants are of opinion that the Church festivals, which are observed in commemoration of death, crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, originated from the conception of death and rejuvination of the Nature. They reject even the historical personage of Jesus the Christ, and call it a sun-myth. Indian scholars have not altogether rejected this view, as they opine that the *Vāsantīpūjā*, *Durgāpūjā*, *Dola-yātrā* or *Holī* festivals represent the Nature-worship, and they have originated from the worship of Mitra or Mithra i.e. sun-worship, and, consequently, from the sun-myth. The sun is known as Mitra or the universal friend of the universe. The *Itupūjā* is also the sun-worship, as the word '*Itu*' has been derived from *Mitu* > *Mitā* > *Mitra*, which is no other than the sun, the eternal friend. Vaiṣṇavas observe *holī* festival, which is known as the *āvirotsava*. The '*āvira*' is red in colour, and it represents the vermillion hue of the dawn or rising

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sun. The *āvirotsava* or *holī* festival is observed in the sacred memory of Lord Kṛṣṇa, in the spring season. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the divine incarnation of Viṣṇu, who is no other than the sun. So the *holī* festival is a solar festival, which is observed in the memory of the sun, in the spring season.[1]

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1. Regarding the worship of Mitra or Mithra, J. M. Robertson says that it is no other than the worship of the sun. From Herodotus' (1.131) writing in the fifth century B.C., we learn that in some way the god Mithra was identified with a goddess. Mithra later figures for us in the strange symbolic figure of the lion-headed serpentine god, but above all in that of the slayer of the bull. It has been variously decided that the bull, slain by Mithra, is the symbol of the earth, the symbol of the moon, the bull of the Zodaic, and the cosmogonic bull of the Magian system. It is perfectly intelligible and probable that Mithra, slaying the bull, should have meant the rays of the sun, penetrating the earth, and so creating life for mundane creatures, as the dog feeds on the blood of the slain bull. There can be no reasonable doubt that these successive religous representations of the slaying of the lion and the slaying of the bull rest on a Zodiacal system of sacred symbolism, which the slaying of a given animal means either the passing of the sun into a particular sign of the Zodiac at a particular season of the year, or the slaying of the animal represented as a special sacrifice. Again, if it be right to decide that the slaying of the bull originally pointed to the sun's entering the sign of the bull, at the vernal equinox, then this symbol dates back, probably, more than 3,000 years before the Christian era ; while the symbol of the slaying of the lion would signify the sun's entrance into Leo at Midsummer, in the same period. In fact, the

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The *rāga vasanta* invokes the spirit of the vernal season of the solar origin, and so it is recognized as the best *rāga*, from the aesthetic viewpoint and that of philosophy. Let us illustrate some of the songs that create an atmosphere of the spring and newness of life. These are :

(क) सुभग वसन्त नवल-लता, पल्लव लागि
द्रुम सुमन सुखदायी ।
शीतल पवन सुगन्ध रुचिर चारु लागे
मधघन झरलायि ॥

(ख) उड़त बुन्दन नव अबीर वहु
कुमकुम खेलत, वसन्त वन-लाल
गिरिधर-धारण ।

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image of the slaying of the bull came to be associated specially with the idea of sacrifice and purification—purification by the blood of bulls and rams. The resurrection and eternal life were secured by drenching or sprinkling with the actual blood of a sacrificial bull or ram.

Further he says that the rising sun would be daily hailed with joy, as among the Jewish Essenes, and sun-worshippers everywhere. The Christmas is a solar festival of unknown antiquity. Easter is also a solar festival. We learn from Tertullian that Osiris, in the mysteries, was burried and came to life again. The Mithraic Christians actually continued to celebrate Christmas day as the birthday of the sun, despite the censures of the Pope. Christmas was an Osirian and Adonisian festival also. The celebrations in memories of Apollo, Hercules, Demeter and Pessidon use to bear the same significance. Dr. Frazer discusses it in *Garden of Adonis*, and Swāmi Abhedānanda, in his *Christ and Christmas*.

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(ग) चलो सखी कुञ्जधामे, खेलत वसन्त
श्याम संग लिये, राधे नाम रूप गुण जागेरि।

(घ) वसन्त आगत भयो आज सखिरी।
वरण वरण कमलदल-कुसुम-विकाशि।
अति अनुपम मनोहर कोयेला बोले॥

The symbolic language and idea of the songs inspire the mind of all, and bring unto them a materialised vision of the blossoming of the trees and creepers, cool breeze, scented and coloured wreaths of flowers, and sweet songs of the cuckoo, together with the vermillion hue of the *āvira* in the *holī* festival of the spring. Besides *dhruvapadas*, there are *dhāmāra* type of songs, which create a rhythmic and rousing atmosphere of the dynamic Nature. They are :

(क) होरि खेलन आये नन्ददुलार (दीपक) ;

(ख) खेलत होरि भर काङ्कन पिचकारी
श्यामरो—री (परज) ;

(ग) खेलन ऐसी होरि आइ ब्रिजनारी
मद माती निरखि श्यामलपटारे (छायानट)।

The songs in the *rāgas*, *dīpaka*, *paraja*, *chāyānata*, etc. describe the divine sportive play of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and create a celestial vision.

The psychological effect of the *rāga vasanta* and its variants are amazing and divine. The development of *vasanta* begins mostly from the high tonic (*tāra-ṣaḍja*) of the middle octave,

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and the manifestations of the displaced *ṛṣabha*, both the *madhyama* and sharp *gāndhāra* create a rhythmic movement in the minds of both the artists and listeners. During the time of the ascent, the *rāga vasanta* rises from the tonic to the fourth note (*madhyama*), producing a curve but blending tune, naturally known as *gamaka*, which creates a balanced and peaceful emotional sentiment and mood. The entire manifestation of the tonal form of the *rāga vasanta* creates a mental picture of the spring.

In Bengal, the *rāga vasanta* is profusely used in *padāvalī-kīrtana*, on the occasions of *holī*, *jhulana*, *rāsālīlā* of Lord Kṛṣṇa. It is also a favourite *rāga*, in most of the folk songs of different parts of India. In *padāvalī-kīrtana*, different types of *vasanta* are used, and they are: *gaurī-vasanta*, *vasanta-vāhāra*, *māyūra-vasanta*, *śrī-bhupālī-vasanta*, *mālasi* or *malaśrī-vasanta*, *kāmoda-vasanta behāga-vasanta*, *suhāi vasanta*, *vasanta-dhāni* or *vasanta-dhāneśrī*, *vasanta-jayajayanti gurjarī-vasanta*, *sohinī-vasanta*, *kalyāna-vasanta*, etc. The mystic Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal consider the spring as an important season. In most of their devotional compositions, they have described the spring as a symbol of new life and new inspiration, and their aim and object are to transcend the transient beauty and grandeur of the phenomenal world, and to dive deep into the ocean of eternal peace and tranquility. There is a beautiful poem of the mystic poet Vidyāpati,

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that invokes the spirit and atmosphere of the spring, together with the spirit of the *rāga vasanta* :

नव वृन्दावन नव नव तरुगण
नव नव विकशित फुल ।
नओल वसन्त नओल मलयानिल
मातल नव अलिकुल ॥

The ever-new Vṛndāvana, the trees and creepers, with new full-blown flowers, the vernal season, the new cooling *malaya*-breeze (the breeze that flows from the south), and the new-inspired bees created the living environment of the spring. The noted indologist, Kānnoomal has given aesthetic references of the *rāga vasanta*, togther with *dīpaka*, *madhumādhavi*, etc., from a Sanskrit manuscript, *Saṅgeetmālā*, in the *Rūpaṃ* (July, 1922). He describes *vasanta* as a *nāyikā* (a *rāginī*), and says that she is of a lovely dark appearance, as the sweet smell comes out of her lotus-like mouth and a swarm of black bees gather about her face, and make a humming sound. She has the beauty and lusture of the person of cupid and youth that captivates young men. Her breasts are hard, and she holds buds of mango plants, in her lotus-like hands. The *rāginī* is sung in *kharaj* (=tonic—*ṣaḍja*) *svara*, in spring, in the second part of the day. The rhetorical interpretation of the *rāga* (or *rāginī*) *vasanta* is that she is a *nāyikā* i.e. a young passionate

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woman, who is well skilled in all the arts of her lover. Her lover is *dhīrodātta*, and the sentiment is *vipralambha śṛṅgāra*.

The *rāga vasanta* is a symbol of the transcendental light that reigns supreme with its own undying luminosity and glory. It dances like Natarāja on the breast of the *Apasmāra* that represets death or winter season. The winter season symbolizes death, and the spring, life. Therefore the *rāga vasanta* conquers death and brings immortal life unto mortal man.

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Chapter Six

EVOLUTION OF MUSIC-PARTS OR DHĀTUS

'Music-part' is known as a unit or a division of songs (*prabandha-gītis*). It is known by different names, like *dhātu*, *aṁśa*, *kali*, *tuka*, *bhāga*, etc. The *prabandha* type of songs are known by their harmonious combination of words (*sāhitya*) and tunes (*rāgas*), together with metres, rhythms and tempi. It is systematically composed, according to *śāstric* rules and injunctions of the 'highway' i.e. classical type of music. Śāraṇgadeva says: '*prakṛṣto yasya bandhaḥ syāt sa prabandho nigadyate*'.[1] The present classical music of both Northern and Southern systems, are known as the *nibaddha prabandha gītis*. Śāraṇgadeva says that the *prabandha* type of music is divided into three classes[2]: *sūḍa*, *mārga-sūḍa*, *ālī* or *ālī-saṁśrita* and *viprakīrṇa*. They are again of two types, pure (*śúddha*) and mixed (*miśrita*). The *prabandhas* are of different forms, with different names. The classical *prabandha* type of music is possessed of five caste-forms or *jātis*, and they are: *medinī*, *nandinī*, *dīpanī*, *pāvanī* and *tārāvalī*. These are known as *jātis* because of their particular form and definite

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1. प्रकृष्टो यस्य बन्धः स्यात् स प्रबन्धो निगद्यते ।
2. प्रबन्धास्त्रिविधाः ।

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character. Bharata describes *jātis*, in connection with the classical *dhruvā* type of dramatic songs (*nātyagīti*). Bharata says in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* that *jātis* evolved from *vṛttas*, and *vṛttas* are spun out of different numbers of letters : '*jātayo vṛtta-saṁbhavāḥ*' (NS. 32.286).[3] Again each *jāti* consists of three *vṛttas* and they are : *guru-prāya*, *laghu-prāya* and *guru-laghu-akṣaraprāya* :

Sarvāsāmeva jātīnāṃ trividaṃ vṛtta-miṣyate |
Guruprāyaṃ laghuprāyaṃ guru-laghvakṣaraṃ tat' hā ||
(NS. 32.39)[4]

The *jātis* are connected with the dramatic songs, *dhruvās*. The Vedic metres are the life-force (*prāṇa*), or indispensible parts (*aṅga*) of the *jātis*. Kātyāyana says in his *Sarvānukramaṇi* (middle of the fourth century B.C.) : '*atha chandāṁśe-gāyatruṣṇganuṣṭuv-bṛhatī-paṅkti-triṣṭuva-jagatyatijagati-sakkaryatiśakkaryaṣṭyatyaṣṭi-dhṛtyatidhṛtaḥ*'[5]. That is, *chandas* are : *gāyatrī*, *uṣṇka*, *anuṣṭupa*, *bṛhatī*, *paṅkti*, *triṣṭuva*, *jagatī*, *atijagatī*, *śakkarī*, *atiśakkarī*, *aṣṭi*, *atyaṣṭi*, *dhṛti*, *atidhṛti*, etc. Ṣadguruśiṣya wrote his commentary, *Vedārthadīpikā*, in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. He elaborately des-

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3. जातयो वृत्त-संभवाः ।—नाट्यशास्त्र ३२।२८६

4. सर्वासामेव जातीनां त्रिविधं वृत्तमिष्यते ।
गुरुप्रायं लघुप्रायं गुरुलघ्वक्षरं तथा ॥
—नाट्यशास्त्र (काशी सं) ३२।३९

5. अथ छन्दांशे गायत्युष्णिगनुष्टुबुहतीपङ्क्ति-त्रिष्टुब्जगत्यतिजगती-शक्वर्यतिशक्वर्यष्ट्यत्यष्टि-धृत्यतिधृतयः ।

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cribes these metres, together with *kṛti*, *prakṛti*, *ākṛti*, *saṁkṛti*, *abhikṛti* and *utkṛti*[6]. These metres were used in the *jātis*. The *jātis* are: *ayukta*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *madhya-gāyatrī*, *capalā*, *udgāta*, *dhṛti*, etc.

The *nibaddha prabandha gītis* had their origin in the post-Vedic classical *padas* or *padagānas*, which have been elaborately dealt with by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Now, what are the *padas*? Bharata says that what is composed of letters, is known as '*pada*': '*yat kiñcidakṣara-kṛtaṃ tat-sarvaṃ pada-saṁjñitaṃ*'.[7] The *pādas* make the *gāndharva* type of music manifest, and they are known as *vastu*: '*padaṃ tasya bhaved-vastu svara-tālānubhāvakaṃ*'.[8]

The *padas* are divided into two classes, *nibaddha* and *anibaddha*. They were again classified into two, *satāla* (with time-measures) and *atāla* (without time-measures). The *nibaddha* type of *prabandha*, with time-measures (*satālā*) is known as *ālapti* or *ālāpa*, and *anibaddha* type of *prabandha*, without time-measures (*atāla*) is called *sārthaka* i.e. meaningful or significant *gānas*, composed of letters, metres and *jāti*. But both the types of *prabandha gītis* are possessed

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6. Vide *Sarvānukramaṇi*, edited by A. A. Macdonell (Oxford, 1886), p: 77.

7. यत् किञ्चिदचरक्लृप्तं तत्सर्वं पदसंज्ञितम्।
—नाट्यशास्त्र ३२।२६।

8. पदं तस्य भवेत् वस्तु स्वर-तालानुभावकम्।

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of different parts or limbs (*aṅgas* or *dhātus*), like *svara*, *viruda*, *pada*, *tenaka*, *pāta* and *tāla*. Though all these parts or limbs convey different meanings, yet they make the *prabandha* type of songs significant.

But, how the music-parts or *dhātus* came into being? In Vedic period, the *sāmagānas* were sung with five *bhaktis*, and they were: *hiṁkāra*, *udgītha*, *prastāva*, *pratihāra* and *nidhāna*. Sometimes two more *bhaktis*, *praṇava* and *upadrava* were added. The *bhaktis* were also known as *vibhaktis* or *vidhās*. Besides the *sāmans*, there were *śastras* (शस्त्र) which were sung in tune. The *ṛks* or stanzas of the *śastras* were known as *āhāra*, first *ṛk*, *middle ṛk*, last *ṛk*, and *vaṣaṭkāra*. The five parts (*aṅgas*) of the *sāmans*, *hiṁkāra udgītha*, etc. corresponded to the five *ṛks* or stanzas of the *śastras*. Those five parts of the *sāmans* were generally meant for invoking the five deities, who were in the form of *mantras*. The *sāmans* were sung (or chanted) sometimes by *prastotā*, *udgātā* and *pratihāra*, and sometimes by four Brāhmiṇs, including the presiding Brāhmin, *brahmā*, who was possessed of knowledge in the four Vedas. Śāraṅgadeva says that the five *aṅgas* of the Vedic *sāmagana*, *prastāva*, *udgītha*, *pratihāra*, *upadrava* and *nidhāna* were afterwards transformed into five *dhātus* of the post-Vedic classical type of *gānas*, and they were *udgrāha*, *anudgrāha*, *sambandha*, *dhruvaka* and *ābhoga*. Again the first part, *hiṁkāra* together with *praṇava* or

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oṁkāra were used in the classical type of music, as the supplement to the time-unit or *kalā*. Śāraṅgadeva says,

Brahmaṇā ca purā gītaṃ prastāvodgīthakau tathā /
Pratihāropadravau ca nidhānaṃ pañcamaṃ mataṃ //
Tato hiṁkāraḥ oṁkāra saptāṅgānīti tatra tu /
Udgrāhaḥ syadanudgrāhaḥ samvandho dhruvakastathā //
Ābhogaśceti pañcāṇāmādyānāmabhidhāḥ krāmāt /
Hiṁkāroṁkārayostatra kalā-pūrakatā matā //[9]

Śāraṅgadeva quotes Brahmā, the first and foremost musicologist of the pre-Christian era. Perhaps he was the author of the *Brahmabharataṃ*, and flourished in the 600-500 B.C. It is said that Bharata i.e. Brahmā or Brahmābharata introduced five *dhātus* or music-parts, in the classical *gāndharva* type of music, as five *aṅgas* were current in the Vedic music, with some changed names. As for example,

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9. ब्रह्मणा च पुरा गीतं प्रस्तावोद्गीथकौ तथा।
प्रतिहारोपद्रवौ च निधानं पञ्चमं मतम्॥
ततो हिंकारः ओङ्कार सप्ताङ्गानीति तत्र तु।
उद्ग्राहः स्यादनुग्राहः सम्बन्धो ध्रुवकस्तथा॥
आभोगश्चेति पञ्चानामाद्यानामभिधा क्रमात्।
हिंकारोंकारयोस्तत्र कलापूरकता मता॥

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prasthāva, udgītha, pratihāra, upadrava, nidhāna
| | | | |
udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruvaka, antara, ābhoga

It should be remembered that the *dhātus* like *udgrāha* or *udgrāhaka*, etc. are the music-parts of the post-Vedic *prabandha* type of songs (*gītis*). The *dhātu*, *dhrūva* or *dhruvaka* is used as the intermediary part (*aṁśa*) between the parts, *melāpaka* and *ābhoga*, and *antara* occures in between the parts *dhruva* and *ābhoga*. *Antara* is sometimes omitted. Śāraṅgadeva describes those music-parts, in the *prabandha* chapter of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. He says,

Prabandhāvayavo dhātuḥsa caturdhā[10] nirūpitaḥ /
Udgrāhaḥ prathamastatra tato melāpaka-
dhruvau //
Ābhogaśceti teṣāṃ ca kramāllakṣmābhidadhmahe /
Udgrāhaḥ prathamo bhāgastato melāpakaḥ
smṛtaḥ //
Dhruvatvācca dhruvaḥ paścadābhogastvantimo
mataḥ /
Dhruvābhogāntare jāto dhāturaṇyo'ntarā-
bhidhaḥ //[11]

10. Śāraṅgadeva does not recognise *antarā* as a separate *dhātu*.

11. प्रबन्धावयवी धातुः स चतुर्धा निरूपितः ।
उद्ग्राहः प्रथमस्तत्र ततो मेलापकध्रुवौ ॥
आभोगश्चेति तेषां च क्रमाल्लक्ष्माभिदध्महे ।
उद्ग्राहः प्रथमो भागस्ततो मेलापकः स्मृतः ॥
ध्रुवत्वाच्च ध्रुवः पश्चादाभोगस्त्वन्तिमो मतः ।
ध्रुवाभोगान्तरे जातो धातुरन्योऽन्तराभिधः ॥
—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।७-९

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Siṁhabhupāla, the commentator says : '*sa catuṣ-prakāraḥ udgrāhakaḥ melāpakaḥ, ābhogaḥ, antaraśceti. * *Prabandhasya prathamo bhāga udgrāha ityucyate. Dvitīyo bhāgo melāpakaḥ. Tṛtiyo bhāga dhruvaḥ. * *Udgrāhāntaramābhogāntaraṃ ca gānādantīmo bhāga ābhogaḥ. * *Dhruvasya ābhogasya ca madhye'ntarākhyaḥ pañcamo dhāturasti. * *Antarākhyo dhātur-na catvāra eva dhātavaḥ*'.[12] Again the names of the music-parts (*dhātu*) were probably changed into *sthāvī*, *antarā*, *sañcārī* and *ābhoga*, at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century A.D.

A *rāga*, constructed out of the succession and patterned combination of seven notes, manifests and develops itself in the music-part, *sthāyī*.[13] It is called *sthāyī*, because a *rāga* rests on it, and makes itself manifest, there for the first time (*sthitatvāt sthāyī*). Some are of opinion that a *rāga* first takes its base (seat) in the music-part, *sthāyī*, and then moves gradually towards the fifth and sixth notes, *pañcama* and *niṣāda* of the middle octave, comes in contact with other notes, and touches the tonic (*ṣaḍja*) of the higher octave, and rests on the sonant (*vādī-svara*). Again, when the

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12. स चतुष्प्रकारः। उद्ग्राहकः, मेलापकः, आभोगः, अन्तरश्चेति। * * प्रबन्धस्य प्रथमो भाग उद्ग्राहः इत्युच्यते। द्वितीयो भागो मेलापकः। तृतीयो भागो ध्रुवः। * * उद्ग्राहानन्तरमाभोगानन्तरं च गानादन्तिमो भागः आभोगः। * * ध्रुवस्य आभोगस्य च मध्येऽन्तराख्यः पञ्चमो धातुरस्ति। * * अन्तराख्यो धातुर्न चत्वार एव धातवः।

*13. *Sthāyī* is sometimes pronounced as *ā-sthāyī*. In Sanskrit and Hindi it is pronounced as *ā-sthāyī*. It will correctly be pronounced as '*sthāyī*', and not *ā-sthāyī*.

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rāga develops inself in the second music-part, *antara* or *antarā* (i.e. the music-part that rests between *sthāyī* and *sañcarī*), it generally starts from the third note, *gāndhāra* (sometimes from the fourth or fifth, *madhyama* or *pañcama*) of the middle octave, and moves togards the high octave (*tāra-saptaka*). It moves sometimes upto *ṛṣabha*, or *gāndhāra*, or *madhyama*, and fully manifests there, and then comes down to the tonic (*ṣaḍja*) of the middle octave. In the South Indian system, *sthāyī* is known as *pallavi*, and *antara* as *anupallavi*. The word '*pallavi*' connotes the idea of seed or offspring. *Antara* is called *anupallavi*, because it comes after (*anu*) *pallavi*. So the word *pallavi* indicates the beginning of the song, or the first stage, whereas *anu-pallavi* conveys the idea of sprout, or the second stage. Fox-Strangways calls *pallavi* as 'germ', 'sprout—first subject' or 'at home', and *anupallavi* as 'after-germ-second, subject', or 'interval, change of voice of register', etc.

The music-part, *sthāyī* or *pallavi* creates or makes manifest the *rāga*, and *antara* or *anupallavi* sustains it. Sometimes it is said that the notes of the first music-part, *sthāyī* are sustained in the middle octave, and then continue to move towards the high octave. The notes of the second music-part (*antara* or *antarā*) help the notes of the first music-part (*sthāyī*) to gradually play in the high octave. In the chapter of *varṇa* (*varṇa-prakarṇa*), the first *varṇa* is known as *sthāyī*, which

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helps to make manifest the song (*gīta*) : '*yat gītaṃ varṇābhivyakti-kṛt*'.[14] It seems similar to *udgrāhaka* or *udgrāha*, the first part (*dhātu*) of the *prabandha* music, to some extent.

It is said that the dissonant (*samvādī*) notes are profusely used in the second music-part, *antara* or *antarā*. But from the viewpoint of the elaboration of the notes (*svara-vistāra*), this process is more adopted in *sthāyī* than *antarā*, because it is very difficult to elaborate the notes, from the middle octave to the high one.

The fourth music-part *ābhoga* is considered as the complement to the third one, *sañcārī* ('*abhogaḥ paripūrṇatā*'), or to both *sthāyī* and *antarā*. In some *dhruvapada* type of songs, we find only two music-parts, *sthāyī* and *antarā*, and in that case *antarā* appears as the complement to *sthāyī*. But when a song is composed of four parts, *sthāyī*, *antarā sañcārī* and *ābhoga*, we consider *sañcāri* as both counterpart of and complement to *sthāyī*, and *ābhoga* as those of *antarā*. In fact, *sañcārī* and *ābhoga* are repetitions of *sthāyī* and *antarā*. The musicologists say : '*antarāḥ samīpavartī*', i.e., *antarā* is the sustainer of and complement to *sthāyī*.

It is interesting to note that the word '*antara*' or '*antarā*' is almost absent in the pre-*Ratnākara* works. Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 century A.D.)

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14. यत् गीतं वर्णाभिव्यक्तिकृत्।

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says, in connection with the division of the *nibaddha gītis*, in his *Saṅgīta-pārijāta*.

Ādya udgrāhako jñeo melāpaka-staduttaraḥ /
Tṛtiyo dhruva-sanjñāḥ syādantaraḥ
syāccaturthakaḥ /
Ābhogaḥ pañcamabhāgaḥ.....//[15]

A *nibaddha gīti* is divided into five parts, and they are: *udgrāhaka*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva*, *antara* and *ābhoga*. The *udgrāhaka* is the first part, the second part is *melāpaka*, the third part is *dhruva*, the fourth part one is *antara*, and the fifth part is *ābhoga*. *Antara* and *antarā* are one and the same. Paṇḍit Ahobala divides the music-parts into five, following the method of the ancient musicologists.[16] From this it is understood that the five divisions existed before Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 A.D.), and by '*pūrvasūribhiḥ*', he means Śāraṅgadeva and others. It has already been said that though Śāraṅgadeva admits in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*: '*prabandhāvayavo dhātu sa caturdhā nirūpitaḥ*', yet he recognizes *antara* as *dhatu*, in between the parts, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*: '*dhruvā-bhogāntare jāto dhāturaṇyo'ntarābhidhaḥ*' (4.9). Kallināth says: '*dhruvābhogāntare dhruvābhogayor-*

15. आद्य उद्ग्राहको ज्ञेयो मेलापकस्तदुत्तरः।
तृतीयो ध्रुव-संज्ञः स्यादन्तरः स्याच्चतुर्थकः।
आभोगः पञ्चमभागः * * ॥
—सङ्गीत-पारिजात।

16. पञ्चधा कथितो भागो गीतोऽस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः।

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madhye jāta utpanno nirmita ityarthaḥ'. Śāraṅga-deva further admits that the music-part, *antara* or *antarā* is used in the *sālagasūḍa-prabandha* and *rūpaka-prabandha* : '*sa tu sālagasūḍastha rūpake-sveva dṛśyate*'.[17] Kallināth further comments : '*atra dṛśyata iti dṛśi-grahaṇena dhruvādiṣvapi yatra cirantana-prayogādantaro dṛṣṭānta-tattraiva kāryo nānytreti niyamāntara-syāpi sūcitatvānmaṇṭhādiṣu darśanāttatraiva kārya*'.[18] He means to say that though *dhruva* functions as *antara* from very ancient times, yet it is used separately in the *prabandha* like *maṇṭh*, etc. In fact, the music-part *dhruva* has been divided into two, *dhruva* and *antara* or *antarā*, and *antara* is used alt ernately (*vikalpe*). The seven types of *vhinnā*, etc. *rāgagītis*, and *ṛk*, *pānika*, etc. *brahmagītis* were also divided into four parts, instead of five. The commentator Siṁhabhupāla says : '*Prabandhasya prathamo bhāga udgrāha ītyucyate. Dvitīya-bhāgo melāpakaḥ. Tṛtiyo bhāgo dhruvaḥ. Tasya-dhruva-śabdasya vyut-pattistu dhruvatvānniścalatvāditi. Udgrāhānantaramā-bhogānantaraṃ ca gānādantīmo bhāgo āhhogaḥ, * *dhruvasya ābhogasya ca madye'ntarākhyaḥ pañcamo dhāturasti. Tat-kathaṃ pañcadheti noktamata āha—sa tvitī. Antarākhyo dhātur-na sarvatra prabandheṣu.*

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17. स तु सालगसूडस्थ-रूपकेष्वेव दृश्यते ।

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।९

18. यत्र दृश्यत इति दृषि-ग्रहणेन ध्रुवादिष्वपि यत्र चिरन्तनप्रयोगादन्तरो दृष्टान्त तत्रैव कार्थो नान्यत्रेति नियमान्तरस्यापि सूचितत्वाच्चण्डादिषु दर्शनात्तत्रैव कार्य ।

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Kiṃ tu sālagasūḍa-prabandheṣveva. Tatasca'sarveṣu prabandheṣu'. Catvāra eva dhātavaḥ.[19]

So we find that the music-part, *antara* or *antarā* is used in the *sālaga-sūḍa-prabandha-gītis* in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, otherwise the four parts, *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva* and *ābhoga* have been accepted in the system of ancient classical *gāndharva* and *deśī* types of music. The part, *antara* is also known as '*upantara*'. In truth, *antara* was not used generally by the ancient artists and musicologists, as *dhruva* functioned for it. Kallināth says: '*sakṛd-virati-rudgrāho'ntaraḥ tū akṣara-nirmitaḥ*'.[20] Kallināth comments further on the *śloka* 4.8 of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*: '*anena gānakāle dhruvasyādavṛttiṣu kṛtāṣu.*[21] It is also evident from the following lines of Śāraṅgadeva:

Dhruva-statastatra pūrvameka-dhātupada-
dvayaṃ //
Bhinna-dhātu tṛtīyaṃ syādābhogastada-
nantaraṃ /
Geyo vāggeyakāreṇa svābhidhāna-vibhūṣitaḥ //[22]

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19. प्रबन्धस्य प्रथमो भाग उद्ग्राह इत्युच्यते। द्वितीय भागो मेलापकः। तृतीयो भागो ध्रुवः। तस्य ध्रुव-शब्दस्य वृत्त्यपत्तिस्तु ध्रुवत्वान्नियत्वादिति। उद्ग्राहानन्तर-भाभोगान्तरं च गानादन्तिमो भागो आभोगः। * * ध्रुवस्य आभोगस्य च मध्येन्तराख्यः पञ्चमो धातुरस्ति। तत् कथं पञ्चधेति नोक्तमत आह—स इति। अन्तराख्यो धातुर्न सर्वत्र प्रबन्धेषु। किं तु सालगसूडप्रबन्धेष्वेव। ततश्च 'सर्वेषु प्रबन्धेषु' चत्वार एव धातवः।

20. सकृद्विरतिरुद्ग्राहोऽन्तरः तु अक्षरनिर्मितः।

21. अनेन गानकाले ध्रुवस्यादवृत्तिषु कृतासु * *।

22. ध्रुवस्ततस्तत्र पूर्वमेकधातुपदद्वयम्।
भिन्नधातु तृतीयं स्यादाभोगस्तदनन्तरम्।
गेयो वाग्गेयकारेण स्वाभिधानविभूषितः॥ —सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।३७-३८

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Simhabhupāla says that instead of four, three music-parts were also used in a *prabandha-gīti*. Some other music-parts were also mentioned in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. But usually, says Kallināth four music-parts were accepted, as *antara* was used exclusively in the *maṇṭha* class of the *gītis* : *'yatra cirantana-prayogādantaro dṛṣṭaḥ'*.[23]

Paṇḍit Dāmodara also follows the method of Śāraṅgadeva. He says in his *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa* :

Dhātuḥ prabandhāvayavaḥ sa-codgrāhādi
bhedataḥ /
Caturdhā kathito bhāgastvādyo udgrāha-
samjñakaḥ //
Ādāvudgṛhyate-gītaṃ yenodgrāha-stadā bhavet /
Melāpako dvitīyastūdgrāha-dhruvaka-melanāt //
Dhruvatvād-dhruva-saṅjñastu tṛtīyo bhāga
ucyate /
Ābhogastvantimo bhāgo gīta-pūrṇatva-
sūcakaḥ //
Dhruvābhogāntare kaiścit dhāturuktontarā-
bhidhaḥ /[24]

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23. यत्र चिरन्तन प्रयोगादन्तरो दृष्टः ।

24. धातुः प्रबन्धावयवः स-चोद्ग्राहादि भेदतः ।
चतुर्धा कथितो भागस्त्वाद्य उद्ग्राहसंज्ञकः ॥
आदावुद्गृह्यते गीतं येनोद्ग्राहस्तदा भवेत् ।
मेलापको द्वितीयस्तूद्ग्राहध्रुवकमेलनात् ॥
ध्रुवत्वाद्ध्रुवसंज्ञस्तु तृतीयो भाग उच्यते ।
आभोगस्त्वन्तिमो भागो गीतपूर्णत्वसूचकः ॥
ध्रुवाभोगान्तरे कैश्चित् धातुरुक्तोन्तराभिधः ॥

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Paṇḍit Dāmodara regards *udgrāha* as the first part ('*ārambhaka*'), and *ābhoga* as the last one, and *antarā* as an intermediary part between *dhruva* and *ābhoga* of the *prabandha* type songs. He therefore recognizes only four music-parts, *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*.

Paṇḍit Śrīnivāsa (early eighteenth century) admits four music-parts or limbs in his *Rāgatattva-vibodha*. Śrīnivāsa says,

Ādāvudgṛhyate yena sa tānodgrāha-saṅjñakaḥ /
Ādyantayoścaniyamastāne yatra prajāyate //
Sthāyītanaḥ sa vijñeyo lakṣya-lakṣṇakovidaiḥ /
Sañcārī tu sa vijñeyaḥ sthāpyāroha-vimiśritaḥ //
Yatra rāgasya viśrānti samāptidyotako hi saḥ //[25]

According to Śrīnivāsa music-parts are four in number, and they are *udgrāha*, *sthāyī*, *sañcārī*, and *dyotaka*. He flourished between Ahobala and Bhāvabhatta, the author of *Anupasaṅgītavilāsa*. It is interesting to note that Śrīnivāsa is a staunch follower of Ahobala and he borrows many materials from Ahobala's *Saṅgīta-pārijāta*.[26]

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25. आदावुद्गृह्यते येन स तानोद्ग्राहसंज्ञकः ।
आद्यन्तयोश्चनियमस्थाने यत्र प्रजायते ॥
स्थायीतानः स विज्ञेयः लक्ष्य-लक्षणकोविदैः ।
सञ्चारी तु स विज्ञेयः स्थाप्यारोहविमिश्रितः ॥
यत्र रागस्य विश्रान्ति समाप्तिद्योतको हि सः ।

26. Unfortunately the complete printed book is not yet available. But it is sure that Paṇḍit Ahobala wrote the *Pārijāta*, dealing with all the topics on *svara*, *rāga*, *prabandha*, *vādya*, *nātya* and *nṛtya*.

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Again Bhāvabhatta is a follower of Śrīnivāsa, and he incorporates many materials in his *Anupasaṅgītavilāsa*, from Śrīnivāsa's *Rāgatattvavibodha*, but he differs from Śrīnivāsa in his views, regarding the names and numbers of the music-parts. Śrīnivāsa does not recognize *antara* or *antarā* as a part. He rather combines the chapters on *varṇa* (*varnālaṁkāra*) and *rāga* (*prabandha*) together, and accepts *sthāyī* as the second part, which seems quite different to the divisions, made by other musicologists.

Now, let us see how the music-part (*dhātu*) *antara* or *antarā* was recognized as an indispensible part or limb of the *nibaddha gītis*. It was also used as an alternative to *dhruva*, even during Dāmodara's time (1625 A.D). He says that 'some *dhatu* like *antara* is also referred' to : '*kaściddhātu-ruktaḥ*'[27]

It has already been said that Kallināth admits the alternative (*vikalpa*) use of *antara*, as he admits : '*anena gāna-kāle dhruvasyāvṛttiṣu kṛtāsu*,[28] i.e. when *antarā* is used, *dhruva* remains absent. But this practice has not been accepted by most of the post-Śāraṅgadava authors, and some have rather omitted *antarā* instead of *dhruva*.

Veṅkatamakhīn also admits the four music-parts, or limbs in his *Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā* (1620 A.D.) like his predecessors. He says,

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27. कायद्वातुरुक्तः ।

28. अनेन गानकाले ध्रुवस्याऽऽवृत्तिषु कृतासु ।

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Dhāturnāma prabandhasyāvayavaḥ sa
caturvidhaḥ /
Udgrāhaḥ prathamastatra tato melāpaka-
dhruvau //
Ābhogaścetyathaiteṣāṃ * * * * / [2]

The part, *ābhoga* completes the *prabandha-gīti* : '*prabandhasya yadābhogaṃ paripūrtiṃ karoti tat*'.[30] He also mentions about the part, *antarā* in between *dhruva* and *ābhoga* : '*dhruvābhogāntare jāto yatastenāntarābhidhaḥ*'.[31] He says that *antarā* may be recognized as the fifth music-part, if necessary.

So it seems that the division of the *gītis*, *sthāyī*, *antarā*, *sañcārī* and *ābhoga* are the products of the nineteenth century. Sir S. M. Tagore has mentioned these particular names of the music-parts in his article, *Hindu Music*, published in the journal *Hindu Patriot*, in 1874. Sir William Jones also admits these names in his monograph : *On the Musical Modes of Hindoos*, published in 1784. Captain Willard also recognizes them. Rādhā Mohan Sen mentions these names in his *Saṅgīta-taraṅga*, published in 1818. He calls *dhātu* as *toka* i.e. *tuka*, or *aṁśa*, or *bhāga*. He says,

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29. धातुर्नाम प्रबन्धस्यावयवः स चतुर्विधः ।
उद्ग्राहः प्रथमस्तत्र ततो मेलापक-ध्रुवौ ॥
आभोगश्चेत्यथैतेषां * * ।

30. प्रबन्धस्य यदाभोगं परिपूर्तिं करोति तत् ।

31. ध्रुवाभोगान्तरे जातो यतस्तेनान्तराभिधः ।

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Toker viśeṣa nāma śuna mahāśaya //
Prathama toker nāma ūrdhagraha vale /
Athavā *asthāī* nāma—kahena sakale //
Dvitīya toker nāma *milā-kuka* māni /
tṛtīya toker nāma *āntara* vākhāni //
Caturthete *bhāga* āra pañcame *ābhoga* /
Bhogere ābhoga vale, ābhogere bhoga //
Cāri-toka dhruvapada kahilāma yāya /
Milākuka nāme toka nāhika tahāya //
Asthāyī uṭhive tāra-kharaja upare /
Dharive antarā pare rikhābher ghare //
Gandhāre dharive *bhoga—ābhoga* madhyame /
Cāri toka dhruvapada erupa niyame // [32]

He describes the special name of *toka* i.e. *tuka* or music-part. A *dhruvapada* is consisted of four music-parts, and the first among them is *urdhagrāha* (?) i.e. *udgrāha*. Or this part or limb is known to

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32. तोकेर विशेष नाम शुन महाशय ॥
प्रथम तोकेर नाम ऊर्ध्यग्रह वले ।
अथवा अस्थाइ नाम कहेन सकले ॥
द्वितीय तोकेर नाम मिलाकुक मानि ।
तृतीय तोकेर नाम अन्तरा वाखानि ॥
चतुर्थेते भाग आर पञ्चमे आभोग ।
भोगेरे आभोग वले,—आभोगेरे भोग ॥
चारि तोक ध्रुवपद कहिलाम याय ।
मिलाकुक नामे तोक नाहिक ताहाय ॥
अस्थाइ उठिवे तार-खरज उपरे ।
धरिवे अन्तरा परे रिखावेर घरे ॥
गान्धारे धरिवे भोग,—आभोग मध्यमे ।
चारि तोक ध्रुवपद एरूप नियमे ॥
—सङ्गीततरङ्ग

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all as *a-sthāyī* : i.e. *sthāyi*. The second one is cosidered as *milākuka*, i.e. *melāpaka*, the third one is known as *antarā*, the fourth one as *bhoga*, and the fifth one as *ābhoga*. But, in truth, *bhoga* is known as *ābhoga*, and *vice-versa*. They are the *tokas* i.e. *tukas* or parts of the *dhruvapada* music. *Milākuka* or *melāpaka* is now out of practice. The notes of *a-sthayī* begin from *kharaja* i.e. *ṣaḍja*, and that of *antara* from *rikhābha* i.e. *ṛṣabha*. The notes of the part *bhoga* rise from *gāndhāra*, and that of *ābhoga* from *madhyama*.

The *Saṅgīta-taraṅga* of Rādhā Mohan Sen is an authentic Bengali book on music. Probably for want of proper knowledge in Sanskrit, some of the technical names of the music materials have been mutilated. But the reason for the adoption of new names, *a-sthāyī* or *āsthāyī*[33], *bhoga*, etc. has not been given by him. The radical musicians and musicologists of the twentieth century have newly reformed the arrangement of microtones or *śrutis*, *rāgas*, parent scales or *melas*, tonal forms or *svararūpas*, sonant (*vādī*), *tānas*, *dhātus*, etc. in the North Indian systems of music, but whether their reformation is truly scientific or not should probably be investigated. Again we do not know why *udgrāha* and *melāpaka* were replaced by *sthāyī* and *antarā*. If we investigate into the matter from

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33. It has already been said that the correct name is *sthāyī*.

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historical standpoint we find that *udgrāha* is the first music-part or limb of the *prabandha* chapter, from where the song begins, and *sthāyī* is the first part of the *varṇa* chapter, where the song takes its stand and begins to manifest. So the status and significance of both the parts of two different chapters are almost the same. Paṇḍit Viṣṇunārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe adopts the present modified system of the music-parts, and says: प्रबन्धके भिन्न भिन्न भाग अथवा अवयव रहते थे जिन्हें धातु कहते थे। इन् धातुओंके नाम रत्नाकरमे इस् प्रकार दिये हैं—उद्ग्राह, मेलापक, ध्रुव, अन्तरा और आभोग। आजकाल प्रबन्धों का गायन कहीं दिखाइ नही देता। अतः इन् प्राचीन धातुओंको चर्चा करनेसे हमें कोइ प्रयोजन नहीं हैं। जिया प्रकार हमारे आधुनिक गीतोमें स्थायी, अन्तरा, सञ्चारी और आभोग इत्यादि धातु समझाना चाहिये।

That is, the different parts of the *prabandha-gāna* are known as *dhātus*. In *Ratnākara*, they are called *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva*, *antarā* and *ābhoga*. Śāraṅgadeva also mentions that there was a type of music, known as *dhruva* containing four music-parts. This *dhruva* may be recognized as the forerunner of the modern *dhruvapada* type of music(?). It was included in the *sālaga* type of *prabandha* music. The first part was known as *udgrāha*, similar to the part, *sthāyī* of the modern times. The second part of this *dhruva* music was sung higher than the first part, as Simhabhupāla says: '*kiñci-*

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duccaṃ khaṇḍaṃ antarākhyāṃ kartavyaṃ'. From the commentary of Siṁhabhupāla it is understood that the name of the second part was *antara*. But it seems, that was not correct, as the name of the second part was *melāpaka*, even during Siṁhabhupāla's time 1330 A.D). *Antara* was the fourth part that occurred between *dhruva* and *ābhoga*. However, the third part of the *dhruva* type of *prabandha* music was sung as the first one, and the fourth part, as the second one. Nowadays the practice of *śāstric prabandha* type of *gītis* is almost obsolete, and so ancient *dhātus* like *udgrāha*, etc. have no utility. In the modern system of music, the four *dhātus* : *sthāyī*, *antarā*, *sañcārī* and *ābhoga* are used. But Paṇḍitjī remains silent about the reason and history behind the radical change that took place in the field of the limbs or *dhātus*. It is probable that there was a great interchange between the two chapters, *varṇa* and *prabandha*, as has been said before. The *varṇa* chapter possesses the four parts, *sthāyī*, *sañcārī*, *ārohī* and *avarohī*, and the *prabandha* chapter consists mainly of four parts, *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*. It has already been said that Paṇḍit Śrīnivāsa, of the early eighteenth century, adopted, in his system some modified music-parts like *udgrāha*, *sthāyī*, *sañcārī* and *dyotaka*. So it seems that the music-society of the early twentieth century had a tendency to adopt a new process, regarding the music-parts, and so they adopted

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sthāyī and *sañcārī* from the *varṇa* chapter, and *antarā* and *ābhoga* from the *prabandha* one, to complete their system. But there poses a question whether the new adoption is based upon a logical ground.

It is quite true that the radicalists have given some new significance to their new devised music-parts. They say that *sthāyī* means the first part, which helps to manifest the music. In the *varṇa* chapter, Mataṅga says: '*varṇābhivyaktikṛt yatra pade sa varṇa sthāyītyucyate*',[34] i.e. the *varṇa*, that manifests the song, is called *sthāyī*. *Antarā* suggests the part that lies after the first part, *sthāyī*. Therefore the word *antarā* signifies the idea of 'next to *sthāyī*'. But in the *prabandha* chapter it has been defined as the part that originates in between (*antare*) the parts, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*: '*dhruvābhogāntare jāto dhaturanyontarābhidhaḥ*'.[35] Perhaps the radicalists had adopted at first the word *antarā* that lies between the parts, third and fourth and then explained it as the part next to the first part, *sthāyī*. The word *sañcārī* means the movement of the notes which manifest the melody or song. In the *varṇa* chapter, says Mataṅga it signifies the meaning, '*yatra gīte sañcaranti svarāḥ paraspara-mantarasahitā ekaikaśo vā sañcārī varṇa ucyate*'.[36] The part, *ābhoga*

34. यद् गीतं वर्णाभिव्यक्तिकृत् यत्र पदे स वर्णः स्थायीत्युच्यते ।

35. ध्रुवाभोगान्तरे जातो धातुरन्योऽन्तराभिधः ।
—रत्नाकर ४।९

36. यत्र गीते सञ्चरन्ति स्वराः परस्परमन्तरसहिता एकैकशो वा सञ्चारी वर्ण उच्यते ।

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means that which completes the manifestation of the melody, and consequently of the song: '*ābhogaḥ paripūrṇatā*'.[37] Kallināth says '*antimo dhātuḥ prabandhasya paripūrṇahetutvādābhoga iti*'.[38] The radicalists also adopted this part with the same meaning.

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37. आभोगः परिपूर्णता।

38. अन्तिमो धातुः प्रबन्धस्य परिपूर्णहेतुत्वादाभोग इति कारणे कार्योपचार उक्तः।

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Chapter Seven

DEVELOPMENT OF CLASSICAL MUSIC AND MUSICAL LITERATURE OF BENGAL

I

Bengal has produced thousands of personalities in all the spheres of activities, social, political, historical, literary, musical and aesthetic. Thousands of music lovers, artists, composers and authors were born on the soil of Bengal, who lived in music, breathed the air and atmosphere of music, and enriched the golden treasure of Indian music. The geographical boundary of ancient Bengal was not so limited, as we find today, but it included Girivaraja (Behar), Kaliṅga (Utkal or Orissa) and Kāmarūpa (Assam). The classical music or art song was extensively cultured throughout the vast area of Bengal, making it compatible with innumerable types of regional music or folk songs that animated and elevated the daily lives of the plain living rural people.

State patronage was always behind the healthy culture of music. The rich zeminder classes also lent a helping hand to preserve and develop it. In the Gupta period (320-600 A.D.) there had been an upsurge of musical culture. Samudragupta was a great patron of this cultural effloresence, as evidenced by his

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lyrist type of copper coin. Candragupta II Vikramāditya (380-423 A.D.) was reputed to have been an adept and he composed many metrical works of great value. The Pāla and Sena Rulers also followed the ideals of the Gupta Emperors. In the recent archaeological discoveries at Maināmatī and Lāmāi Hills, interesting objects like Kinnaras, horse-headed Tumburu, semi-divine Gandharvas with *damaru*, *ghaḍā* (pitcher), flute and drums of different sizes have been found. Many figures of musicians and typical musical instruments like cymbal, gong, trumpet, lyre, *mṛdaṅga* and *veeṇā* have been excavated from the mounds of Pāhārpur. All of them undoubtedly prove that the people of Bengal under Pāla and Sena rules, could boast of a healthy culture of music with keen artistic sense and beauty. Bengal is regarded as the 'Land of Music' for more than a thousand years. Leaving aside the music culture of Bengal, during the rules of the Gupta and Pāla dynasties, we find genuine evidence of the culture of classical type of music i.e. *rāga-saṅgīta* in the tenth-eleventh century A.D., when the Buddhist monks and Yogīs composed the *caryāgītis* and *vajragītis* on occasions of religious celebrations and secret functions of *maṇḍala-cakra*. Those *gītis* were the precious treasure of Bengal (*nadīmātṛkā bāṅgālā*), and they were written in *avahatta* language, making them compatible with the temperament

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and sentiment of the classical *rāgas* like *rāmakrī*, *bhairavī*, *kāmoda*, *mallārī*, *mālasī* or *mālaśrī*, *patamañjari*, *deśākha*, *varāḍī devakrī*, *dhānasī* or *dhānaśrī*, *vaṅgāl*, *śāvari* or *sāverī* or *srāberī*, *gauḍa*, *mālasī-gauḍa*, etc. The *gītis* were accompanied by *veeṇā*, *ektāra veṇu* and *mṛdaṅga*. Different intricate *tālas* like *indratāla*, etc. were used in those *gītis*. Different number of lines of the *caryā* and *vajra gītis* were systematized with two, three or four *dhātus* or music-parts, and the second or the fourth *dhātu* formed the *bhaṇitā*. The Buddhist *caryā* and *vajra gītis* of Bengal were recognized as the *nibaddha prabandha gītis*.

After Vallālasena, Lakṣmaṇasena, his son and general, were devoted to music and Sanskrit learning. The book *Sadūkti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa relates that like Umāpatidhara, Govardhana, Śaraṇa and Dhoyī, Jayadeva of the *Gītagovinda* was also a court-poet of Rājā Lakṣmaṇsena. It is said that Lakṣmaṇasena was very fond of *nātagīti*, and there was special arrangements for performances of *nātagīti* every evening in his royal court. Both Jayadeva and his devoted consort Natī Padmāvatī were experts in music and dance. In the book *Sekaśubhodaya* of Nata-Gaṅgo or Gaṅgoka, we find that Vuḍhanamiśra and his wife Vidyutprabhā were also the court-Nata and Natī of Rājā Lakṣmaṇasena. At that time the *devadāsīs* or dancing girls were engaged in every temples of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Kārtikeya. In Dhoyī's *Pavanadūtaṃ*, we find

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the mention of these *devadāsīs* or temple-dancing girls. In Rūparāma's *Dharmamaṅgala*, we get references of *natīnṛtyas* in the temples of Bengal. Gauḍa, Dvārbhāṅgā, Mithilā, Kāmarūpa, and Kaliṅga were the popular seats of culture of classical dance and music. Nepāl and Kāśmere had received the impetus and inspiration of music and dance from Bengal. Music also travelled from Nepāl and Kāśmere to Khāsgaṛḥ, Bhutān, Kuchi, Khotān, China, Japan and Korea, through the medium of the Buddhist religious missionaries, and traders. There was a direct route from Magadh to Tibet *via* Kāśmere.

In the early twelfth century A.D., Thākur Jayadeva composed his *Gītagovinda-gītis*. The current *rāgas* and *tālas* were incorporated in his *padagītis*. The *tālas* were *maṇṭha*, *yati*, *rūpaka*, *pratimaṇṭha* and *ekatālī*, and their forms or rhythmic patterns can easily be deciphered. The arrangements of the microtones, in relation to seven notes, were made according to the system, adopted by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata (second century A.D.). The standard pure scale (*śuddha-mela*) was perhaps similar to *kāphī-mela* of the present Hisdusthānī system of music, and *mukhārī* of Vidyāraṇya's system. They were known as the systematized *prabandha* type of music, as they strictly followed different classical *rāgas*, *tālas*, music-parts or *dhātus*, emotional sentiments and moods (*rasa* and *bhāva*).

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It is possible to determine or discover the real forms of the *rāgas*, current in Jayadeva's time (12th century A.D.), by comparing them with the melody-types (*rāgas*), as depicted in Kavi-Locana's *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*, and Hṛdaya-nārāyaṇa's *Hṛdayakautuka*. Jayadeva probably followed the modes of singing (*gāyāna-śailī*) of the *caryā* and *vajra gītis*. It is said that the songs of *Gītagovinda* were presented everyday in the temple of Jagannāth at Puri by temple-dancing girls or *devadāsīs* and Brāhmiṇs. They are still there in some of the South Indian temples in the form of classical *kīrtana*.

If we survey the culture of music during the time of Gupta, Pāla and Sena dynasties, we find that the *rāgagītis* were current almost everywhere in Bengal. The *śāstric* rules and injunctions of Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Dattila, Kohala, Yāṣṭika Śāṇḍilya, Nandikeśvara, Mataṅga of *Bṛhaddeśī* (second-seventh century) were predominant in the domain of classical music. The classical types of music and dance, that have been depicted in the mythico--historical *Purāṇas* like *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāyu*, *Agni*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* and other classical Sanskrit dramas, were also cultured in Bengal, and so the music culture of Bengal was in full accord with the rules and practices of the Indian system of music. Many regional types of music like *dohā*, *cāñcara*, *cchappāya*, *jhumrā*, *pañcālī*, etc. were also current in different parts of Bengal.

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The *maṅgalagītis* were very favourite to the people of Bengal. The reference to '*gītamaṅgala*' is found in the great epics like *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, and classical dramas of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhāravi and others. The *maṅgālagītis* perhaps evolved out of the *gītamaṅgala* of the epics and the Sanskrit dramas. They were later on connected with many ballads and rural stories.

Beginning from the thirteenth to eighteenth century, i.e., from Vipradāsa's *Manasāvijaya* or *Manasā-maṅgala* to Bhāratacandra's *Annadā-maṅgala*, Bengal produced different kinds of *maṅgalagītis*. In the Sanskrit *Pūraṇas* and Bengali *Maṅgala-kāvyas*, we find the influence of gods and goddesses upon mortal men. But in the *Manasā-maṅgala*, we find it reversed, as Devī Manasā was always ignored by Cānd-Sadāgara. Bengal preserved the culture of different types of *kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, *kālī-kīrtana*, and *prabandhas* like *dvipadīkā*, *ṣṭapadī*, *pañcālikā*, *jambhalikā*, *kīrtigāna* or *padāvalī-kīrtana*, etc. Śāraṅgadeva describes in the fourth chapter of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, the classical forms and characteristics of the *gītis* or *gānas* like *maṅgala* (4.303), *maṅgalācāra* (4.297), *dhavala* (4,302), *caryā* (4.293), *carcarī* (4.290), *karaṇa* or *kīrti* or *kīrtilaharī* (4.23), etc. In the fourteenth-fifteenth century, Vaḍu Chaṇḍidāsa of Bīrbhum, Vidyāpati, Umapātidhara and many other mystic Vaiṣṇava poets composed *padagītis* in *avahaṭṭha-bengali-maithilī* language. They

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were sung with different *rāgas* and *tālas*, together with emotional sentiments and moods. Those *padagītis* fully imbibed the atmosphere and spirit of classical type of music. They were possessed of different music-parts (*dhātus*), metres (*chandas*), and three registers (*sthānas*). The provinces of Nepāl and Trihuta were adjacent to Greater Bengal, and were influenced by the classical *padagītis* of Bengal.

The fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. was an epoch-making period. Śrī Caitanya of Navadwīp (1485-1533 A.D.) brought about a renaissance in the domain of music in Bengal. He promulgated the *nāma-kīrtana*, following the current types of *caryā* and *gītagovinda*. He sung *kīrtana* within closed doors in Śrīvāsa's house at Navadwip (*Śrivāsa-āṅginā*) for the first time. The learned musicians Svarūpa-Dāmodara, Rāy Rāmānanda, Murāri-Gupta, and other Vaiṣṇava savants always accompanied him. Svarūpa-Dāmodara was an expert in both the arts of playing *mṛdaṅga* and classical music. From Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Gītāprakāśa* (16th century A.D.) and Kavi-Nārāyaṇa's *Saṅgītasaraṇi* (16th-17th century A.D.), we come to know that Rāy Rāmānanda was well versed in the science and grammar of classical music. Rāy Rāmānanda was the court-poet of Pratāprudra-Dev of Gajapati dynasty of Orissā, and both of them were devoted disciples of Śrī Caitanya.

The *nāma-kīrtana* was composed of different

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names of Hari, the Lord of the universe: '*harernāma harernāma*', etc., but it was sung with pure classical *rāgas* and *tālas*. It has already been said that Śāraṅgadeva describes elaborately the *karaṇa-prabandhas*, in the early thirteenth century, in connection with *niryukta* and *aniryukta*, and eight kinds *sūḍa-prabandha-gītis* (vide SR.4.21-32). Śrī Caitanaya's introduction of the *nāma-kīrtana* or *kīrtana* was supported by Swarūpa-Dāmodara and Rāy Rāmānanda, who were well versed in *śāstric* classical music.

After Śrī Caitanya, the Vaiṣṇava savants like Thākur Narottama or Narottama-dāsa Ācārya Śrīnivāsa and Śyāmānanda or Dukī Kṛṣṇadāsa (1583 A.D.) brought about a new revival of the *padakīrtana* in Bengal. Swāmī Haridāsa lived at this time (end of the sixteenth and beginning of seventeenth century A.D., during the reign of the Moghul Emperors Ākbar and Jehāṅgir) at Vṛndāvana. Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī[38] was a devout Vaiṣṇava saint and founder of *Haridāsī* or *Sakhī* sect at Vṛṇdāvana. From F.S. Growse's *Archaelogical Account of Mathurā* (1883), we know that Swāmī Haridāsa

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38. Some are inclined to call Swāmī Haridāsa as Haridāsa Dāgur; but Haridāsa Dāgur was quite a different man from Swāmī Haridāsa of Vṛndāvana. Again there is no genuine proof that Swāmī Haridāsa, the music-teacher of Miāṅ Tānsen, was a musician of the dāgarvāni or dāgurvāni school.

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composed many *sakhis*, *cambolas*, *siddhāntapadas*, and *dhruvapada* type of songs in Vṛjabulī language. Many other composers and musicians like Priyādāsa, Dhruvadāsa, Dāmodara-Swāmī, Dayāldāsa, Viṭhal-Vipul, Bihārīdāsa, and Rasikadāsa were famous in Mathurā and Vṛndāvana at that time. Some of them were contemporary to and many lived immediately after Śrī Haridāsa Swāmī or Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī. It is said that Thākur Narottama, Ācārya Śrīnivāsa and Śyāmānanda went to Vṛndāvana, and Narottama took systematic lessons in *dhruvapada prabandha-gītis* from some noted Vaiṣṇava savants, for a long time. They came back to Bengal, finishing their studies in different *śāstras* and classical music. They brought with them a huge collection of Sanskrit manuscripts on different subjects, and it is most probable that there were some music manuscripts with them. But unfortunately the manuscripts were looted on the way to Gauḍa by the men of Rājā Veerhāmbīra (1538-1572) of Vaṇa-Viṣṇupur, Bāṅkurā. Some are of opinion that this fact is not historically correct, though it has been mentioned in the Kavirāja Kṛṣṇdasa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Rājā Veerhāmbira, it is said, was subsequently converted to Vaiṣṇavism. The descendants of Veerhāmbīra made Viṣṇupur the seat of culture of classical music, in Bengal.

After coming back from Vṛndāvana, the three scholar saints Narottama, Śrīnivāsa and

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Śyāmānanda realized the greatness of *nāma-kīrtana*, introduced by Śrī Caitanya. Narottama (sixteenth century A.D.) ushered the type of *kīrtana*, in the design of *dhruvapada prabandha-gīti*. Govindadāsa Cakarvurty (1583 A.D.), Rāy Basanta (1583 A.D.), Dvija Gaṅgāram, and others were also well versed in classical music. They represented the *padāvalī-kīrtana* (*kīrtigāna* or *kīrtigāthā-gāna*) with *ālāpa* and *rāgas*, showing the intricate playing of the microtones (*śrutis*), tones (*svaras*), ancient scales (*grāmas*), ascending of the seven notes (*mūrcchanās*), time-measures (*tālas*), etc. Ācārya Narahari Cakravurty or Ghanaśyāmadāsa II gave a description of them, in the ninth chapter of his *Bhaktiratnākara* :

(क) बार बार प्रणमिया सबार चरणे ।
आलापे अद्भुत राग प्रकटकरणे ॥
रागिणी सहित राग मूर्तिमन्त कैला ।
श्रुति-स्वर-ग्राम-मूर्च्छनादि प्रकाशिला ॥
* * * *
नरोत्तम गणसह ताँरे प्रणमय ।
निबद्ध-गीतेर परिपाटि प्रचारय ॥

(ख) प्रभु-परिकरगण गुणेर आलय ।
गीत-नृत्य-वादेय विशारद अतिशय ॥
* * * *
गायक-सकले ये आलाप-वर्ण-रीते ।
आलपये नाना भाँति—उपमा कि दिते ॥

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करिया आलाप राग प्रकट करय।
कहिते कि—रागेर सौभाग्य अतिशय॥
श्रुति-स्वर-ग्राम मूर्छना तालादि आर।
गमक-प्रभेद प्रकाशये चमत्कार॥
विविध प्रवन्धे तालभेद प्रचारे।
अन्येर कि कथा—गन्धर्वेर गर्व हरे॥[39]

That is, (a) 'they (singers) began to manifest the melody or *rāga* with *ālāpa*, repeatedly bowing down to all. The *rāgas* with *rāgiṇīs*, together with microtones, notes, scales and *mūrcchanās* were vividly manifested. * * Narottama and his attendants began to propagate the *nibaddha* type of *kīrtana*, in a very accomplished way. (b) The Master (Śrī Caitanya) and his followers were endowed with many qualities.' They were efficient in *nṛtya*, *gīta* and *vādya* (dancing, singing and drumming). * * The singers began to represent *ālāpa* in various ways, according to its *śāstric* rules, and they were unparalleled. In this way they fully manifested the *rāgas*, together with microtones, notes, scale, *mūrcchanās*, and rhythm, etc. They used *gamaka* (curving of the tune) and different rhythms in different *prabandha* type of songs. It was so beautiful and accomplished that even the Gandharvas were no match to them'. From this it is evident that *kīrtana* or *kīrtana-prabandha-gīti* was classical in its type.

39. Vide भक्तिरत्नाकर, published by the Gauḍīya-Math, p. 500.

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It may be mentioned in this connection that the trend of thought, in some quarters, is to consider *padāvalī-kīrtana* as folk song or devotional *bhajan*, as distinct from classical type of music. This under-estimation occurs, in our opinion, for want of true perspective of the history of *kīrtana* of Bengal. It has already been said that *kīrtana* i.e. *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal is a pure type of *sūḍa-prabandha-gāna* of the post-Bharata classical *deśī* music. Even the derivated and diminutive form of *ḍhapa-kīrtana*, devised and introduced by Madhusūdan Kinnar or Madhu-Kān, owes its origin directly to classical *prabandha-gāna*. So all kinds of controversy regarding the purity and aristocracy of *padāvali-kīrtana* of Bengal, are therefore baseless.

After Thākur Narottama, many of the learned Vaiṣṇava savants enriched the treasures of the *padagītis* and *padavālī-kīrtana*. The name of Ghanaśyāma-Narahari is worth mentioning in this connection. Narahari lived in the early eighteenth century A.D. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries the classical music was cultured profusely all over Greater Bengal, and we get its genuine proof from the book *Gītāprakāśa* of Orissā. It is believed that *Gītaprakāśa* was composed by (Swāmī) Kṛṣṇadāsa, probably in the first half of the sixteenth century, i.e. during the time of Rāy Rāmānanda and Pratāprudra-Dev or Pratāprudra-Gajapati (1504-1582 A.D.). Harinārāyaṇa Sūri, Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva,

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and poet Nārāyaṇa were mostly indebted to this book *Gītaprakāśa*. Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva of Khemuṇḍi (a place in Southern Orissā) composed *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, and it was writien, says K. C. Pattanāik, in the seventeenth century A.D. From the family chronology (*krusināmā*) of the Khemuṇḍi Rāj family, it is known that Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva belonged to it. Many other books on music were written at this time, and *Gītaprakāśa* was certainly an inspiration to them. Narahari's musical chapter in the *Bhaktiratnākara*, and his *Saṅgītasāra-saṁgraha* also prove the trend of classical music in the eighteenth century. Narahari learned *dhruvapada* from the noted Hindu and Muslim *Ustāds* of that time. Bhāratacandra Roy (probably 1703 A.D.), Kavirañjan Rāmprasād Sen (probably 1720-1730 A.D.) of Hālisahara, Ayodhyā Goswāin or Āju Goswāin (contemporary to Rāmprasād Sen), Rāmanidhi Gupta or Nidhu Bābu (probably 1741-1742 A.D.), and others were regarded as noted composers and musicians of that time. Different *nibaddha-kāvya-gītis*, and specially *pāñcālī* and other *ālī-prabandha-gītis*, with different intricate *tālas*, and *ālāpas* were practised. They were mostly composed in French-Sanskrit mixed Bengali. It is said that Rāmprasād Sen also cultured *dhruvapada* and classico-Bengali songs. The *kheyāl* type of music was not so current at that time in Bengal. Rāmprasād was a lover of traditional classical music, and his songs were

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appreciated by all classes of people, including the classicalists.

Next to Rāmprasād Sen, Rāmanidhi Gupta (1741-1742—1838-1839 A.D.)[40] created a new and novel type of *tappā*. In his early age he learned classic-Bengali songs from some native *Ustāds*. At the age of 35 he went to Chāprā district with a service, and there he mastered pure type of *tappā* from some Muslim *Ustāds*. In his ripe age he came back to Calcutta, and composed hundreds of Bengali classical *tappās*, which were new and novel in form, and unique in presentation. He created a new sensation and zeal amongst the lovers of classical music of Bengal, at that time.

The history of the culture of classical music in Bengal became glorified with the advent of the Muslim *Ustāds* from Delhi and Āgrā, who began to settle in Bengal, during 1759 to 1806 A.D., when Moghul Emperor Shāh Ālam II (formerly Āli Gauhar) was on the throne of Delhi. Shāh Ālam was a man of weak personality, and when on the 12th August, 1765, he granted by a *firmān* the *Diwāni* of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā to the East India Company, he became the titular Moghul Emperor living under the protection of the British. It was, therefore, impossible for him to carry on the musical legacy of his glorious predecessors. The noted

40. Some ascribe the date 1741-1834 A.D.

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musicians, who belonged mostly to the Tānsen school (*gharānā*), began to leave Delhi, and sought refuge in different Durbārs of Muslim Nawābs and Hindu kings and zemindārs of Oudh, Betiyā, Rewā and other places. It is said that some of the descendants of Tānsen went eastward, and the Senī *Ustāds*, belonging to Tānsen's disciple line, went to different parts of Rājputanā. The British Rāj was not interested in preserving the traditional art and culture of Indian music, and so they were indifferent to patronizing the musicians. Many of the *Ustāds* took shelter in the Durbār of the king of Banaras, and some of them came to Bengal, and settled in Kṛṣṇanagar, Viṣṇupur, Murśidābād and other places. In the seventeenth-eighteenth century A.D., Bāhādur Khān of the Senī school was invited by Rājā Raghunāth Singh II (1752-1784) of Viṣṇupur (Bāṅkurā), and was appointed as his court-musician. The Pākhawāj player Peer Bux came with him, and was appointed in the Durbār. Gadādhara Cakravurty, Rāmaśaṅkar Bhattācārya, Nitāi Nājir, and Vṛndāvan Nājir were the first disciples of *Ustād* Bāhādur Khān. All of them mastered *dhruvapada* of the Senī school of Delhi. After Bāhādur Khān, his favourite student Gadādhara Cakravurty, and afterwards Rāmaśaṅkara Bhattācārya became teachers, and Viṣṇupur was regarded as the second Delhi in Bengal. Śyāmācānd Goswāmī, Anantalāl

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Cakravurty, Dwārikānāth, Kriṣṇanāth and Vrijamādhava were the students of Gadādhar Cakravurty. Kṣetramohan Goswāmī, Jadu Bhatta, Keśavlāl Cakravurty, Rāmakeśav, Dinabandhu and Anantalāl Banerji, the father of Saṅgītācārya Gopeśwara Banerji, were the students of Rāmaśaṅkar Bhattācārya. All of them cultured the Senī style of *dhruvapada*. But gradually that style was replaced by the style of Śadāraṅga[41] of Tānsen School. But most of the musicians of Viṣṇupur learned *dhruvapada* from the *Ustāds* of Gwālior, Rewā, Beṭiyā, and other places of Rajputanā and Bihār. Bengal was then regarded as a seat of culture of classical music.

During the early nineteenth century, Cinsurā, in the Hooghly district, was noted for its culture of classical music. *Ustād* Mān Khān came to Cinsurā in 1806, and Rāmcandra Seal took lessons on *dhruvapada* from him. He was an

41. Sadāraṅga's real name was Niyāmat Khān, and 'sadāraṅga' was the title, conferred upon him by Muhammed Shāh. Niyāmat Khān belonged to the Tānasen line, and was an expert in both *dhruvapada* and *veeṇā* playing. Whatever may be the story, current about him, he composed many classical *vilambita kheyāl* type of songs, on the pattern of the *dhruvapada*. He was really the man who made the *kheyāl* type of music of India rich, aristocratic and popular. Āmir Khusrau and Sultān Hussain Sharkī of Jaunpur created an impetus in the *kheyāl* type of songs before Sadāraṅga or Niyāmat Khān.

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expert in both *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl*, and so he taught his disciple Rāmacandra both the types of music. Rāmcandra Seal was the Dewān of Messrs Palmer & Co., and so he had to go to Murśidābād, from time to time. Murśidābād was then one of the seats of culture of classical music. Baḍe Miāṅ, Has-su-Khān, Hardu-Khān, Hīrā and Bul-bul were the famous musicians of that time. Rāmacandra used to invite them to Cinsurā, and thus he created an inspiration among the people of that place. He was acquainted with Kṛṣṇānanda Vedavyāsa, the well-known compiler of *Rāga-kalpadruma*. Mahārāja Bhāratcandra of Kṛṣṇanagar used to invite Rāmacandra to his Durbār. Mahārāja himself was very fond of classical music, and many Muslim *Ustāds* were often invited in his Kṛṣṇanagar Durbār. Gopāl Candra Pāṭhak, Parāṇa Mukherjee and Jaladhara Mukherji were the students of Rāmacandra. Rāmkṛṣṇa Pāl, who mastered the *khāṇḍārvānī dhrupada*, and musicians like Rāmakānāi Mukherji and Gaṅgā Nārāyaṇa Chatterji were contemporaneous to Rāmcandra Seal.

It is said that *kheyāl* (Hindusthānī) was first introduced in Bengal, in the early nineteenth century. Kānāilāl Cakravurty and Mādhavlāl Cakravurty of Viṣṇupur, (Bāṅkurā) first learned *kheyāl* from Mohammed Khān of Sadāraṅga's desciple line, and they introduced this style in Viṣṇupur. Rājā Madan Mohan Siṅgh was then

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the ruler of Viṣṇupur, and he encouraged them in the introduction of *kheyāl*, together with *dhruvapada*. But there is a difference of opinion regarding the first introduction of *kheyāl*, in the soil of Bengal.

In the middle of the nineteenth century A.D., Calcutta became one of the chief centres of the culture of classical music. Mahārājā Jatindra Mohan Tagore and Mahārājā Sir Sourindra Mohan Tagore of Jorāsāṅko (Calcutta) were great patrons of classical music. Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī was appointed as a teacher of music in their palace. Peer Bux, the *pākhoyājī* of Viṣṇupur also lived sometimes in Calcutta, and made some students. All the top-ranking Muslim and Hindu *Ustāds* of that time were invited to the Tagore castle. The names of Maulā-Bux of Barodā, Hanumān Dāsjī and Kānāilāl Ḍheri of Gayā may be mentioned among those, who were invited. Maulā-Bux became the family teacher of the Tagores. Śrīmatī Prativā Devī, the wife of Āshutośa Coudhury and others became his students. *Ustād* Hanumān Dāsjī was an expert in both theory and practice of music, and he was very favourite to Sir S. M. Tagore. The name of his worthy son, Śoniji is worth mentioning in this connection. Śoniji was noted for the colourful playing of the Hārmonium.

Sir S. M. Tagore established the *Saṅgīta-samāja*, in Cornwāllis Street, Calcutta, with the

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the co-operation of some zemindars of Bengal, namely, Mahārāja of Nātore, Āshutos Coudhury, Manmatha Mitra, poet Rabindranāth Tagore, and others. They provided many Muslim *Ustāds* in their Samāj. Time to time *jalsās* (music functions) were arranged for giving scope and opportunity to the students and public at large. Sir S. M. Tagore wrote many valuable books on music, with the help of Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, and others. Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī also wrote two noted books: *Saṅgītasāra* and *Yantra-kṣetra-dīpikā*.

At that time, Bengal had produced many talented *Ustāds* of classical music. The renowned Jadu Bhatta of Viṣṇupur mastered *dhruvapada* of Senī school, in his early age, from Gadādhara Cakravurty. In the opinion of Rabindranāth Tagore, the renowned Jadu Bhatta's *dhruvapada* was purely of *khāndārvānī* style. Afterwards he went to the Durbār of Veercandra Mānikya Bāhādur of Tipperā, and there he learned *veeṇā* and *rabāb* from Ustād Kāsem Āli Khāṅ, a descendant of Miāṅ Tānsen. He also mastered *surabāhār* and *pākhawāj*. Jadu Bhatta came back to Calcutta, and was sometimes a music teacher in the Tagore family.

Among other musicians of Viṣṇupur, Anantalāl Banerji, Keśavlāl Cakravurty, Rāmkeśav and Dinabandhu Goswāmī were the students of Rāmaśaṅkara Bhattācārya. Rāmaśaṅkara's son Rāmkeśava was engaged as the

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music teacher in the house of Chātu Bābu and Lātu Bābu, the renowned zeminders of Calcutta. Dinabandhu was an expert in *dhruvapada*, *kheyāl* and *ṭhumri*. His son Gaṅgānārāin Goswāmī was a finished musician, and he took service in the palace of the Mahārājā of Mymensingh.

Rādhikā Prasād Goswāmī first learned *dhruvapada* from Anantalāl Banerji, and then he went to the Durbār of Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore of Betiyā. Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore was a passionate lover of classical music. He mastered *dhruvapada* from Muslim *Ustāds*, and composed many songs of great aesthetic and poetical value. The name of Naval Kiśore should be mentioned in this connection. Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore had a number of noted students, and among them were: Śivanārāyaṇa Miśra, Guruprāsad Miśra and others. Rādhikā Prasād Goswāmī also learned *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl* from them. Rādhikā Prasād's father Jagatcānd Goswāmī was a renowned *mṛdaṅga* player.

The name of Aghore Nath Cakravurty of Harināhhi (*24 parganās*) and Vāmā Caran Banerji of Behālā are worth mentioning. Aghore Nath Cakravurty learned *dhruvapada* from Ustād Āli-Bux and Ustād Daulat Khāṅ of Punjab. He also mastered *kheyāl* and classico-Bengali songs.

Ustād Rasūl-Bux first came as a Durbār musician at the Kṛṣṇagar Rājbātī. Afterwards

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he was appointed as a music teacher in the house of Rāmadās Goswāmī, zemindar of Serāmpore, Hooghly. Rāmadas Goswāmī learned *dhruvapada* first from Rasūl-Bux, and then from Ustād Ūjīr-Khāṅ and Yu-suf-Khāṅ. Harinārāyāṇa Mukherji of Banaras and Nemāi Charan Ghosāl of Serāmpore were the students of Rāmadās Goswāmī. Harinārāyaṇa Mukherji afterwards learned *dhruvapadas* from other Hindu and Muslim *Ustādas* of that time.

Besides Calcutta, Mymensingh was a seat of culture of classical music. Mahārāja Sūryakānta Ācārya, zemindar of Mymensingh, used to invite all the noted Muslim *Ustāds*, who happened to come to Calcutta. He was a lover and patron of classical music. After him, the name of Jagat Kiśore Ācārya of Muktāgāchā is worth mentioning. He also preserved the traditional culture of classical music in the Mymensingh District.

The name of Harendra Kisore Roycoudhury of Rāmgopālpur should be mentioned in this connection. He was a noted *tabal* player. He mastered *tabal* first from Prasanna Kumār Banik of Dacca, and then from Maulavī-Rām of Banaras. Āssām-Gouripore was a seat of culture of classical music, during the time of zemindar, Prabhāt Chandra Baruā. Dacca was also a chief centre, and the name of Banik and Basāk families are specially worth mentioning in this connection. Bhagavān Dās was a great

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setārī of Dacca. During the Jhulan festival, renowned Hindu and Muslim *Ustāds* were invited to Dacca every year, and used to give demonstrations of classical music in different temples. The Nawāb of Dacca was a patron of classical music.

Bābu Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji, zeminder of Gobardāṅgā was a lover of classical music. Gopāl Candra Pāṭhak of Cinsurā used to visit him. The celebrated *tabal* players Tārāprasād Roy and Golām Ābbās were engaged in the Gobardāṅgā Rājbāti. Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji used to invite many *Ustāds* to Gobardāṅgā house, and created an atmosphere for the culture of highway music. Girijā Bābu of that place was a famous player of *surbāhār*.

Jayakṛṣṇa Mukherji, zemindar of Uttarpārā was a patron of classical music. Lālgolā was another notable centre. Under the patronage of Rājā Rāo Jagadindra Nārāyaṇ Rāy-Bāhādur, many musicians had opportunity of getting training in classical music. The encyclopaedic work *Rāgakalpadruma* by Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsa was published under his patronage. Krṣṇānandajī got the inspiration of compiling this voluminous book, from the compilation of the monumental Bengali dictionary *Śabdakalpadruma*, under the patronage and inspiration of Rājā Rādhākānta Dev-Bāhādur of Śovābāzār, Calcutta.

Nātore Rāj palace was a centre of culture of classical music. Mahārājā Jagadīndra Nath

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Roy of Nātore was a famous *Pākhawāj* player, and he invited from time to time, many of the Muslim and Hindu *Ustāds* in his Nātore palace. His worthy descendants have also preserved their family tradition. Mahārājā Jogindra Nāth Roy and his worthy sons are also the lovers of music.

Āgartalā was a seat of culture of music. Rājā Beer-Vikram Bāhādur was very devoted to classical music. Ustād Enāyet Khāṅ, Ustād Ālāuddin Khāṅ, Ājim-Bux (*Tabaliā*), Śyām Pāṇḍe, Mazid Khāṅ and other *Ustāds* used to visit Āgartalā from time to time, and created an interest for classical music among the inhabitants there.

The name of Comillā (Tipperāh) may also be noted in this connection. In 1919, Harihar Roy established a *Saṅgīta-Vidyāpīṭh* at Comillā. Comillā is also famous for its flute. The names of Birendra Nārāyaṇa and Gopendra Nārāyaṇa can be mentioned, who are experts in reproducing classical *rāgas* through flute. The name of the famous flute player Pānnālāl Ghosh can also be mentioned in this connection.

Now let us give a short sketch of trends of classical music in Bengal in the twentieth century. Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore and Sir Sourindra Mohan Tagore had already opened the fountainhead of classical music in Calcutta, and Maharṣi Devendra Nāth Tagore, Hemendranāth, Somendranāth, Jyotirīndranāth, Satyendranāth,

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Dvijendranāth, Rabindranāth, Dinendranāth and others kept that fountain flowing in its pristine glory. Viṣṇu Cakravurty, Ramāpati Banerji, Rāj Candra Roy of Śāntipur, including Jadu Bhatta and others were the music teachers of the Tagores. The Tagore house was mostly influenced by the musicians of Viṣṇupur. The Muslim *Ustāds* of the Senī school had already settled in different parts of Bengal. From the beginning of the twentieth century upto 1945, we find that various schools and institutions of Hindusthānī classical music were established in different parts of Bengal. Besides the classical type of music, Bengal produced different types of classico-folk and folk music. The names of *bāul*, *bhātiyālī*, *jāri*, *sāri*, *gambhīrā*, *kavi-gāna*, *half-ākhḍāi*, *tarjā*, etc. are worth recording.

The music consciousness of Bengal is becoming more and more sensitive and constructive. Research works in the field of theory and history of music are developing day by day. Books on music and musical instruments with critical notes and notations are coming out in numbers. The future prospect of Bengal in musical sphere is undoubtedly bright and glorious.

II

Now let us draw an outline of the picture of music literature of Bengal, along with some of the important non-musical books, which furnish us

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with music materials. We shall divide our subject of survey into two groups 'A' and 'B', of which 'A' will represent the first-hand music literature, and 'B' the non-musical books, supplying materials of music. It is needless to mention that by music literature of Bengal we mean to say the music literature of undivided Greater Bengal, which was the glory of Indian dominian.

A

The first-hand music literature of Bengal

1. NĀTHAGĪTIS : They were written by Gorakṣanāth, Couraṅgīnāth, Mīnanāth and others. They were written mostly during the rule of the Pāla Dynasty from eighth-nineth century A.D. All the *gītis* are in *avahaṭṭha-dohā* form, and can be regarded as the *prabandha-gānas* like later *caryāgītis*. The following Bengali literature of the *nāthagītis* are available. MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī says about the Nāthism : "But there were other forms of religions which the Buddhist community absorbed within itself. One of these is the *Nātha-mārga* or Nāthism. * * Thus the Nāthism of Matsyendra arose outside Buddhism, but it was at last absorbed into it. On the other hand, Ramana Vajra was a Buddhist of the Vajrayāna school, but when he became a Nātha, he became

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Gorakṣanāth, and was regarded as a heretic by Buddhists, so Gorakṣa's Nāthism was originally within Buddhism, but it was not incorporated into it". It is evident that the songs of the Nātha-Yogīs (*nātha-gītis*) were no other than the *gāthās* or *gānas* of the Buddhists, though the religious and spiritual practices of the Nātha Yogīs were different from the Vajrayānī Buddhists, to some extent.

(a) *Mānikcandrer Gāna*—Collected by Sir George A. Grierson (vide *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874).

(b) *Mīnacetana*—Written by Śyāmadās Sen.

(c) *Govindacandra-Gīta*—Written by Durlav Mullick.

(d) *Gorakṣavijaya*—Written by Fayzullāḥ.

(e) *Maināmatir Gāna* or *Gopicandrer Pāñcālī*—Written by Bhavānī Dās.

(f) *Gopicandrer Gāna*—Written by Viśveśwara Bhattācārya.

(g) *Gopicandrer Sanyāsa*—Written by Sukkur Mohammed, Dacca, 1332 B.S.

2. CARYĀPADAS—Written by Śavarī-pā, Kāṇu-pā, Hāḍi-pā, Lui-pā, Virū-pā, Saraha and others. Eighty-four Sahajiyā or Vajrayānī Buddhist Ācāryas composed and collected the *padas* or *gānas*, during 950-1200 A.D. The actual language of the *caryā* and *vajra padas* was *gauḍa-vaṅga* or *śaurasenī-apabhraṁśa*. They were collected and published in book

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forms, namely: (a) *Bauddha-gāna-O-Dohā* by MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī (published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta); (2) *Caryāpada* by Prof. Manindranāth Basu (published by the University of Calcutta); (c) *Caryāpada* (Eng.), edited by Dr. P. C. Bāgchī (published by the Calcutta University); (d) *Caryāpada*, edited by Dr. Sukumār Sen; (e) *Caryāpada*, edited by Dr. Śaśibhūṣan Dāsgupta; (f) *Vaṅga-Sāhityer-Kathā* by Dr. H. Sahidullāḥ, etc.

Nearly six hundred years before the advent of Śrī Caitanya (1485-1533 A.D.), the Bauddha Siddhācāryas used to compose the *padas* (*gānas*), and sang them with various classical *rāgas*, *tālas* and *dhātus*. The names of the *rāgas* were: *patamañjarī*, *gabḍā*, *aru* (*māru* ?), *guñjari* (*gurjarī* ?), *devakri*, *deśakha* (*devaśakha*), *bhairavī*, *kāmoda*, *dhānaśī* (*dhānaśrī*), *rāmakrī*, *varāḍī*, *śivarī* (*sāvarī* or *śrāverī*), *mallāri*, *mālasī* (*mālaśrī*), *malāddi* (?), *kahṇu-guñjarī* (*kāhṇu-gurjarī* ?), *vaṅgāla* or *vāṅgālā*, etc.

The Bauddha Sanyāsins composed many *gāthās*, and their compositions (*sāhitya*) were known as the *gāthā-bhāṣā*. Some are of opinion that the language of the *caryā* and *vajra gītis* were mixed Sanskrit. Some differ from it. In the *Dākārṇava*, we get the names of the seventy-six Siddhācāryas, out of eighty-four. They were known as the Siddhas of Tibet. They were, in truth, Bauddha Sahajiyās, and they came from different parts of India, irrespective of caste and creed. It is

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said that the *nātha-dharma* was a part of Buddhist religion. It has already been said that Nāthācāryas composed many *padas*, i.e. *gānas* with different *rāgas* and *tālas*.

The word '*caryā*' connotes the idea of behaviour (*ācaraṇa*). The words *tapascaryā*, *natacaryā*, etc. evolved from it. The male and female Buddhist mendicants composed the *caryā* and *vajra gītis*, as part and parcel of their religious and spiritual practices. In the Vedic period, we come across the *gāthā-nāraśaṁsīs*, which were similarly sung by the side of the sacrificial altars. In different religious functions, the *caryā* and *vajra gāthās* were sung. They were mainly sung in the Tāntric, *maṇḍala-cakra* of the Buddhist monks, of the Vajrayānī sect. It is said that the *maṇḍala-cakra* was similar to the *yoginī-cakra* of the Hindu or Brāhmaṇya Tantra. In the *maṇḍala-cakra*, Vajradhara-Heruka was entertained by the *caryā* and *vajra gītis*, though *caryā* was different from *vajra gīti*, to some extent, in their forms and applications. The *caryā* was generally composed of four (complete) parts (*dhātus*), and the word '*dhruvapada*' was mentioned in either the third or fourth part. Sometimes it was mentioned in the second part.

The object of the *caryā* and *vajra gītis* was to attain the '*mahāsukha*' (greatest happiness and bliss), in the state of Sahaja. Advayavajra and Munidatta say in their commentaries that, as the language of the *caryā* and *vajra gītis* used

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to connote double meaning, it was known as the *sandhyā-bhāṣā*, or *sandhyā-saṅketa*, or *sandyā-vacana*, which means the mystic and code language. As for example, the commentators say : (a) यथा वालैः सन्ध्याभाषमजनद्भिर्मनपवनादिनिरोधमाश्रयः कल्पितः ; (b) वारुणीति सन्ध्यावचनेन * * ; (c) दुलि सन्ध्यासंकेते बोद्धव्यम्। Siddha Dārika mentions the musical instruments like *veeṇā* and *veṇu* :

फोईरे वंशा वाजिरे वीणा
अनह सादें तिहुअन लीना ॥

From this, it is evident that *veeṇā*, *veṇu* and *mṛdaṅga* accompanied the *caryā* and *vajra gītis* of the Buddhist Siddhācāryas.

Śāraṅgadeva and Veṅkatamakhī are of opinion that *caryā* and *rāhaḍī* types were included in the category of the *viprakīrṇa prabandha-gīti*, and its *jātī* was *tārāvalī*. Kallīnāth elaborately deals with the structure and application of the *caryā-prabandha-gāna*, in his eommentary *Kalānīdhi*, on the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Now, the correct forms of the *rāgas*, that were used in the *caryā* and *vajra gītis*, can be determined by the melodic patterns or the forms of the *rāgas*, that arc depicted in the *Rāgataraṅginī* by Locana-Kavi, the *Saṅgīta-pārijāta* by Paṇḍit Ahobala, and the *Hṛdayakautuka* by Hṛdayanārāyaṇa-deva of the 16th-17th century A.D.. It should be remembered that the standard scale, that was current during tenth-twelfth century A.D., has now been altogether changed.

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3. DOHĀKOṢA : Written by Ācārya Sarah. Three *Dohākoṣas* are available, and they were composed in 1100-1150 A.D., in different metres like *prākṛt-avahaṭṭha*, *coupadī*, *paddhaḍī*, etc. They were sung in pure classical *rāgas* (vide *Bauddha-gāna O Dohā*, by MM. H.P. Śāstrī).
4. DAŚĀVATĀRA-CARITA : Written by Kṣemendra. He probably flourished before 1200 A.D. Kavi Jayadeva was much influenced by this book.
5. GĪTAGOVINDA : Written by Thākur Jayadeva of Kenduvilva, Bīrbhūm. It was composed in the early 1200 A.D. Pūjārī Goswāmī, Rāṇā Kumbha, Śaṅkara-Miśra, Cerukuri Lakṣmindhara, Probodānanda Sarasvatī (published by Haridāsa Dās), and others wrote commentaries on it, and have thrown light on the music portion. Besides, we find the mention of the following commentaries : *Anupodaya* by Anup Siṅgha, *Gaṅgā* by Kṛṣṇadatta, *Gītagovinda-tilokottamā* by Hṛdayābharaṇa, *Gītagovinda-prabodha* by Rāmakānta, *Mādhurī* by Raṅganāth, *Tattvadīpikā* by Rāma Roy, *Dīpikā* by Gopāla, *Padadyotanikā* by Nārāyaṇa-bhatta, *Pada-bhāvārtha-candrikā* by Śrīkānta-Miśra, *Padābhinaya-mañjarī* by Vāsudeva Vācasundara, *Prakāśa-kaumudi* by Kavirāja Candīdāsa, *Bhava-bhāvinī* by Udayanācārya, *Ratnamālā* by Kamalākara, *Rasa-kadamva-kallolinī* by

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Bhagavata Dāsa, *Rasa-mañjarī* by Śaṅkara-Miśra, *Saśīlekhā* by Kṛṣṇadatta, *Śruti-rañjinī* by Lakṣmaṇa-Sūrī, *Sañjivanī* by Vanamālī Bhatta, *Sandeha-bhedikā* by Kumer Khāṅ, *Sarvāṅgasundarī* by Nārāyaṇa-dāsa, *Śrutisāra-rañjanī* by Tirumal Rāj, *Sadānanda-govinda* by Rūpadeva Paṇḍit, *Sāradīpikā* by Jagaddhara, *Sāhitya-ratnamālā* by Śeṣa-Kamalākara, *Sāhitya-ratnākara* by Śeṣa-Ratnākara, *Suvodha* by Bharat Sen-Mullick. Besides them, the following commentators wrote commentaries on the *Gītagovinda*, and they are: Mānāṅka, Cidānanda-Bhikṣu, Dhṛtikār, Paramānada, Pitāmvara, Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta, Vanamālī-Dāsa, Vṛhaspati-Miśra, Śālināth, Śukladvaja, Śrīharṣa, Bhāvācārya, and others. It was first written in *prākṛt* language, and during the reign of the Sena Kings, it was changed into Bengali-Sanskrit language. It consists of twenty four *gītis*, with twelve *rāgas* and five *tālas*.

The names of the twelve *rāgas* are: *mālava-gauḍa*, *gurjarī*, *vasanta*, *rāmakrī* or *rāmakirī*, *karṇāta*, *deśākha*, *deśa-varāḍī*, *goṇḍakirī*, *mālava*, *bhairavī*, *vibhāsa*, and *varāḍi*, and the names of the five *tālas* are; *rūpaka*, *nissāra*, *yati*, *ekatālī* and *aṣṭatāla*. Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī cites in his commentary, two new *tālas*, *maṇṭha* and *prati-maṇṭha*, but has not mentioned about the *nissāra tāla*. In some of the editions of the *Gītagovinda*, the *rāga*, *karṇāta* has been replaced by *kedāra*.

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Now, let us see how the *rāgas*, current during the time of Jayadeva (early 1200 A.D.), can be deciphered for their use, in the present time.

We know that the basic standard scale (*śuddha-ṭhāta*) of the ancient time was quite different from that of the present Hindusthānī system. According to Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya (14th-15th century A.D.), the basic *rāgas* were 15, but Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) accepts 20 basic scales. Both of them take *mukhārī* as the standard scale (*śuddha ṭhāta*) : 'सर्वेषु रागमेलेषु मुखारिमेल आदिमः'। The meladic form of the *mukhārī* was : 'sa *ri* ga ma pa *dha* ni', which coincides with modern *kāphī*, to some extent. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) says : 'मुखारीति मुखमृच्छति प्राप्नोतीति'। The word '*mukha*' means prime, and therefore, *mukhārī* connotes the idea of prime *rāga*. But, according to Locana-kavi (17th century A.D.), the standard scale *bhairavī* is possessed of all the sharp notes : 'शुद्धाः सप्तस्वराः रम्या वादनीयाः प्रयत्नतः', and it corresponds to : 'sa ri *ga* ma pa dha *ni* / sa' of the present Hindusthānī system of music. According to Locana-kavi, the melodic forms of the basic *rāgas* are :

1. *Bhairavī* = sa, ri. ga (flat), ma, pa, dha, ni (flat).
2. *Toḍī* = sa, ri (flat), ga (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat), ni (flat).
3. *Gaurī* = sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat). ni.
4. *Karṇāta* = sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni (flat).
5. *Kedāra* = sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.

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6. *Imana* = sa, ri, ga, ma (*tīvra*), pa, dha, ni.
7. *Sāraṅga* = sa, ri, ga, ma (*tīvra*), pa, ni (flat) ni.
8. *Megha* = sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, ni (flat), ni.
9. *Pūrvī* = sa, ri, ga, ma (*tīvra*), pa, ni (flat) ni.
10. *Dhānaśrī* = sa, ri (flat), ga, ma (*tīvra*), pa, dha, (flat), ni.
11. *Mukhārī* = sa, ri, ma (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat), ni (flat).
12. *Dīpaka* = no definition has been given by Locana.

Regarding *gaurī*, Paṇḍit Ahobala says that the *rāga* is possessed of ri and dha (flat), and ga and ni (sharp); it is penta-heptatonic, and the melodic form of it is like that of the *Taraṅginī* of Locana. The ancient form of the *gaurī* coincides with that of the present form of *bhairavī* (North), and *māyāmalavagaula* (South). Regarding the *rāga*, *guṇḍakrī*, or *guṇakrī*, or *guṇakirī*, Paṇḍit Ahobala says that it is possessed of ri and dha (flat), with ga and ni (dropped), and, therefore, it is penta-pentatonic. Sometimes *guṇakrī* is known as hexatonic. Regarding the *rāga*, *rāmakrī*, or *rāmakirī*, or *rāmakelī*, Ahobala says that it is possessed of ri (flat), ga (sharp), ma (more sharp or *tīvra*), dha (flat), and ni (sharp), and ma and ni are dropped in the ascent.

Regarding the *rāga*, *dhanyāśikā*, *dhānaśrī*, or *dhānasī*, Paṇḍit Somanāth says that the *rāga* is penta-heptatonic, and is possessed of ga (flat), ma (*tīvra*), and ni (flat), and, therefore, its

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melodic form is sa, ri ga (flat)) ma (*tīvra*), pa, (dha), ni (flat) / sa. Locana also accepts this form, and it is included in the *dhānaśrī-mela*. According to Somanāth it is included in the *śrīrāga-mela*, and its ri and dha are left out in the ascent. Regarding the *rāga*, *āsāvari*, Paṇḍit Ahobala says that it is pentatonic in the ascent (ga being dropped), and heptatonic in the descent. The melodic form of the *āsāvarī* is therefore: sa, ri, ma, pa, dha (flat) / ṡa— ṡa, ni (flat), dha (flat), pa, ma, ga (flat), ri /sa. The *rāga*, *sāverī* (also *srāverī*), says Ahobala, is included in the *bhairavī-mela*, and, therefore, its melodic form is: sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat) ṡa—ṡa, ni, dha (flat), pa ma, ga, ri (flat) /sa. Regarding the *rāga*, *bhupāli* (or *bhupāla*), Ahobala says that it is the *rāga* of the morning, its ascent and descent are: sa, ri (flat) ga, pa, dha (flat), ṡa—ṡa dha (flat), pa, ga, ri (flat), sa. Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya differs from Paṇḍit Ahobala and says that the ascent and the descent of the *bhupālī* is: sa, ri, ga (flat), pa, dha (flat)— ṡa dha (flat), pa, ga (flat). ri/sa. Regarding the *rāga*, *gurjarī*, Puṇḍarika Viṭhṭhala says that it is included in the *mālava-gauḍa-mela*, which coincides with the *rāga*, *bhairavī* of the modern system, and, therefore, its melodic form is: sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat), ni—ṡa, ni, dha,

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(flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa. Paṇḍit Somanāth is of the same opinion. Locana-kavi includes the *gurjarī* in the *gaurī-mela*, and its melodic form is like that of the modern *bhairavī-ṭhāta*.

Paṇḍit Ahobala describes *mallāra* in two different ways : one, *mallāra* (ga and ni dropped), and the other, *mallārī* of the *gaurī-mela*. The modern form of the *mallārī* is, therefore, sa, ri (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat)—sa (of the high octave), dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa. Again the ancient melodic form of *nata* or *nāta* or *natta*, according to Rāmāmatya, Puṇḍarika and Somanāth, is : sa, ri (=ga, possessed of three microtonal units=ga-flat), ma (*laghu*=ga-sharp), ma (*śuddha*), pa, ni, sa (of the high octave and *laghu*), which corresponds to the present Hindusthānī form : sa, ga (flat), ga (sharp), ma, pa, ni (flat) and sa (of the high octave).

Let me mention the learned article on *Gītagovinder Gīta* (Beng.) by my scholarly friend, Śrī Suresh Chandra Chakravurtẏ, Saṅgītaśāstrī, to make the matter clear. He is also of opinion that the melodic forms of the *rāgas* have considerably been changed, and they should be carefully represented according to the forms, current in the present Hindusthānī system of music. He investigates into *rāgas* as follows :

1. *Gurjarī* : According to Locana or Hṛdayanārāyaṇa, it is included in the *gaurī-saṁsthāna*, that coincides with the modern *Bhairava-ṭhāta*, possessed of *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata*

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flat. Hṛdanārāyaṇa represents the meladic form of the *rāga, gurjarī*, in his *Hṛdaya-kautuka*, as sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa/sa, dha (flat), pa, ga, re (flat)/sa.

2. *Deśa-varāḍī*: Locana and Hṛdayanārāyaṇa have not mentioned about this *rāga*. We think that *varāḍī* and *varātī* are one and the same *rāga*. Mataṅga (5th-7th century) and Pārśvadeva (9th-11th century) have described different types of the *varāti* in their works. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) has given the meladic form of the *śuddha-varātī* as: sa, re (flat), ga (flat), ma (*tīvra*), pa, dha (flat), ni. But the meladic form of the *deśa-varaḍī* or *deśa-varātī* is different from that of the *śuddha-varātī*, to some extent.

3. *Vasanta*: Locana includes this *rāga* in the *grurī-saṁsthāna*. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa gives the meladic form of the *vasanta* as: sa, ma, sa, ni, sa/ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa.

4. *Rāmakrī* or *Rāmakirī*: It is included in the *bhairava-saṁsthāna*, and Hṛdayanārāyaṇa represents the meladic form of this *rāga* as: sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa/ni, dha (flat), pa, ga, ma, ga, ri (flat), / sa.

5. *Mālava-gauḍa*: It is included in the *bhairava-saṁsthāna*. *Mālava-gauḍa and mālava-gauḍa* are the same *rāga*.

6. *Karṇāta*: According to Locana 'ni' is flat and all other notes are sharp. It coincides

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with the modern *rāga khāmbāj*. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa represents the meladic form of this *rāga* as : sa, ga, ma, ma, ga, re, sa/ṇi, sa, ri, sa ; ri, ga, ri, sa/sa, sa, sa, sa, ri, sa, ṇi, sa, sa, sa, re, sa/ni (flat), dha, pa, ma, ma, ma, pa, ma, pa, dha, ni (flat) sa ; dha, ni (flat), pa, ma, ma, ga, ri / sa.

7. *Deśakha* : It is the *rāga* of the *megha-saṁsthāna*, and it appeared before as the modern form of the *vṛndāvanī-sāraṅga*, though the note *gāndhāra* is used in it. In the *Hṛdayakautuka*, it has been depicted as : sa, ri, ma, pa, ma, sa / ni (flat) pa ma/pa, ri, ga, ma, ri / sa.

8. *Goṇḍakrī* or *goṇḍakirī* : It is the *rāga* of the *gaurī-saṁsthāna*. In the *Kautuka*, it has been depicted as : sa, ri (flat) ; ri (flat), ma ; ma, pa ; pa, sa, sa, sa, ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ma, ri (flat), sa, sa ; ri (flat), ma, ri (flat), sa. If the note, *niṣāda* is left out, the form of the *rāga* appears as the modern *guṇakirī*.

9. *Mālava* : It is included in the *gaurī-saṁsthāna*, which coincides with the modern *bhairava*. In the *Kautuka*, it has been depicted as : sa, ga, ma, dha (flat), pa, sa/ri (flat), sa, ni, dha (flat), pa/sa, ma, ga ri (flat), sa, ṇi / sa.

10. *Bhairavī* : It is included in the *bhairavī-saṁasthāna*, that coincides with the modern form of the *kāphī rāga* or *thāta*, to some extent.

11. *Varāḍī* : It has not been mentioned in

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the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*. In the *Saṅgita-pārijāta*, there are various types of *varāḍī* (we have already said that *varāḍī* and *varātī* are the same *rāga*).

12. *Vibhāsa :* It is included in the *bhairava-saṁsthāna*. In the *Hṛdayakautuka*, it has been depicted as : pa, dha (flat), ni, sa / ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat), sa. In the *Hṛdaya-prakāśa*, it is mentioned as : sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa / dha (flat), pa, ga, ri (flat), ga, ri (flat), sa.

13. *Kedāra :* Its meladic form is similar to that of the modern *vilāvala*, possessed of all the sharp notes.

In this way, all the forms of the *rāgas*, used in the *caryā*, *vajra* and *gītagovinda-padagāna*, can be determined, and it is not an impossible task.

Regarding the *tālas*, given in the *Gītagovinda*, the commentators of the later period difine them as follows,

1. *Rūpaka :* (a) Pūjārī Goswāmī defines it as : विरामान्तर्द्रुतद्वन्द्वं रूपकः स्याद्विलक्षण इति ।
   (b) Prabodānanda Sarasvatī defines it as : रूपके स्याद्द्रुतं लघु ।
2. *Yati :* (a) Pūjārī Goswāmī defines it as : लघुर्द्वन्द्वाद् द्रुतद्वन्द्वं यति स्यात् त्रिपुरान्तरा इति ।

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(b) Prabodhānanda defines it as: लघु द्रुतौ तालश्चेति। Śāraṅgadeva mentions about the *yatilagna-tāla* which is composed of एको द्रुतः, एको लघुश्च।

3. *Ekatatālī :* (a) Pūjārī Gowāmī defines it as : 'द्रुतमेकं भवेद्यत्र सैकतालीति संज्ञिता'। (b) Prabodhānanda defines it as :

एकताली त्रिधा प्रोक्ता गीतशास्त्रविशारदैः।
रामचन्द्रिका तद्वद्विपुलेत्यथ लक्षणम्॥
द्रुतमेकं भवेद्यत्र तालोऽयं खण्डसंज्ञितः।
रामानेनैकताली तु कीर्त्यते गायनोत्तमैः॥
गुरुद्वयं भवेद्यत्र तालो ललितसंज्ञकः।
चन्द्रिका चैकताली स्यात्तेन सौभाग्यदायिनी॥
कोकिलप्रियताले वै द्रुतं त्रयमुदाहृतम्।
विपुला चैकताली स्यात्तेन गीतज्ञसम्मता॥

Pabodhānanda divides *ekatālī* into three, *khaṇḍa*, *lalita*, and *kokilapriyā*. Śāraṅgadeva defines *ekatālī* as द्रुतेन त्वेकतालिका।

4. *Niḥsāra :* Pūjārī Goswāmī defines it as : द्रुतद्वन्द्वात् लघुद्वन्द्वं निःसारः स्यादिति।

5. *Aṣṭatālī :* (a) Pūjārī Goswāmī defines it as : लघुर्द्रुतो लघुश्चेति अष्टताली प्रकीर्तिते। (b) Prabodhānanda defines it as : लघुर्द्रुतो लघुश्चेत्यष्टताली प्रकीर्तिता।

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Besides them, Prabodhānanda also describes the *tālas*, *maṇṭha* and *pratimaṇṭha*. He says,

(a) गुरुर्लघुद्वयं यत्र भृङ्गतालः स कथ्यते ।
मङ्गलो मण्ठके ज्ञेयो रसे चाद्भुतसंज्ञके ॥

(b) The *pratimaṇṭha* is of four kinds, *sannipāta*, *kanduka*, *suraṅga*, and *khaṇḍa*.

(a) *Sannipāta* = गुरुरेको भवेद् यत्र ।

(b) *Kanduka* = लघुद्वयं विरामान्तम् ।

(c) *Suraṅga* = विरामान्तद्रुतद्वन्द्वं गुरुश्चैकस्ततः परम् ।

(d) *Khaṇḍa* = द्रुतमेकं भवेद्यत्र स तालो खण्डसंज्ञितः ।

Sāraṅgadeva describes both *maṇṭha* and *pratimaṇṭha*, in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākra* (Ch. V).

Rāṇā Kumbha or Kumbhakarṇa of Mewār (*Medapāta*) wrote the commentary, *Rasikapriyā* in 1433-1468 A.D., on the *Gītagobinda*. The name of the commentary, *Rasikapriyā* is also known as the *Saṅgīta-mīmāṅsā*. He mentioned in his commentary the name of King Hammīra, the grand-father of his grand-father, who wrote the *Sāṅagīta-śṛṅgarāhāra* in 1283-1364 A.D. It is interesting to note that Rāṇā Kumbha mentioned the names of the *rāgās* and the *tālas*, which are quite different from those, mentioned by Thākur Jayadeva, in his *Gītagovinda*. It is probable that he mentioned the *rāgās* and the *tālas* which were used in the *padagānas* of the *Gītagovinda*, during his time. But they are not consistent with those of the *Gītagovinda*. As for example,

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As mentioned in the *Gītagovinda*			As mentioned by Rāṇā Kumbha according to his book, *Saṅgītarāja*		
Rāga		Tāla	Rāga		Tāla
mālava-gauḍa	...	rūpaka	mālava	...	ādi
gurjarī	...	niḥsāra	lalita	...	ādi
vasanta	...	yati	lalita	...	jhampā
gurjarī	...	yati	bhairava	...	yati
gurjarī	...	yati	gaṇḍakṛti	...	pratimaṇṭha
karṇāta	...	cakatālī	mālaśrī	...	niḥsāra
deśa-varāḍī	...	rūpaka	kedāra	...	niḥsāra
guṇakarī	...	rūpaka	mālavagauḍa	...	adda
mālava	...	yati	sthānagauḍa	...	yati
bhairavī	...	yati	megha-rāga	...	yati
deśa-varāḍī	...	aṣṭatālī			

Instead of definite *rāgas* and tālas, 18 rāgas from the *Saṅgītarāja* have been mentioned, and they are: *madhyāmadī*, *lalita*, *vasanta*, *varāṭikā*, etc. It is not definite whether he meant to use all these *rāgas* separately.

Again, in the eleventh *sarga* (chapt.), 20th *prabandha*, he mentioned some *tālas*, and in the same *śarga*, 21st *prabandha*, 17 *rāgas* and many classical *tālas*, including the *tālas* of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* like *triputa*, *vijayānanda*, *jāyaśrī*, *karpata-vaṅgāla*, *marutakṛti*, etc. Now, it is a matter of controversy whether Rāṇā Kumbha, the authority on music, dance and drama, of the 15th century A.D., deviated in his method of interpretation of the *rāgas* and *tālas*, from the traditional line of the *Gītagovinda*. It seems to be a deviation.

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6. VARṆA-RATNĀKARA : In the introduction to the book *Varṇa-ratnākara*, Dr. S. K. Chatterji says : 'The *Varṇa-ratnākara* is the oldest work in the Maithilī language of North Bihar so far known, and it goes back to the 1st half, perhaps to the 1st quarter, of the fourteenth century. * * and we know from it that the MS. was written in the year 388 of the La Sain era which is still current in Mithilā : this corresponds to 1507 A.C., the Lā Sain having commenced from 1119 A.C'.

The book was written by Jyotirīśvara-Kaviśekharācārya or Jyotiśvara Thākkura. His father's name was Dhīreśvara and that of grandfather, Rāmeśvara. He wrote two other books, *Dhūrtta-samāgama* and *Pañca-sāyaka*. He was a high court official, a Vedic priest and a scholar of philosophy also. He was also a votary of Śiva, and an expert musician besides. He was in the court of a King of the Karṇāta dynasty, who defeated a Muhammadan invader (Suratrāna—Sultān). The name of the king was Harasiṁha-deva or Harisiṁha-deva. Dr. S. K. Chatterji says that from Vidyāpati's *Puruṣa-parīkṣā*, 'we get in the section under the rubric अथ गीतविद्याकथा, in Chapter III of the book, there is given a story of a singer from Mithilā (Tīrabhukti) called Kalānidhi, who went to the court of King Udayasiṁha of Gorakṣa-nagara, * * * . The story gives a good sidelight into the

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accomplishments of Harisiṁha : that music and singing were well patronised in his court we can easily infer from the fact of Jyotirīśvara taking pains to vaunt his accomplishment in it in the *Pañcā-sāyaka* and the *Dhūrtta-samāgama*, and from the elaborate accounts of the musicians and singers with their cortéges which we find in the V.R.'

The sixth *kallola* of the *Varṇa-ratnākara* has dealt with the gentle arts of poetry, music, musical instruments, and dancing. Dr. Çhatterji says : 'The Vidyāvanta, a professional singer and music-master, a person who is commonly known as a *Kalāvanta or Kālawāt* at the present day, is described, and his state and his training are scarcely inferior to that of the more exalted *Bhāṭa*. In this connection the names of the *rāgas*, of the *śrutis*, as well as the 7 kinds of *gāyana-doṣa* or defects of singers, and the 14 kinds of *gīta-doṣa*, or defects in singing are mentioned'. In the pages 47-48 of the *VR.*, are described seven notes, *ṣaḍja*, etc. four music parts or *dhātus* of the *varṇa*, eighteen *jātirāgas*, names of the microtones or *śrutis* of the *grāmas* (scales), *grāmarāgas*, *rāgāṅgas*, *upāṅgas*, and *deśī rāgas* like *madhymādi*, *mālava*, *mallāra*, *mallārī*, *megha*, *mānasi* (*mālasi* = *mālāsrī* ?) *mutukī*, *deśī*, *dīpaka*, *deśākṣī*, *devakarī*, *vasanta*, *vaṅgāla*, *vayarāvaṇī*, *valāra*, *varālī*, *kāmoda*, *karṇāta*, *kaṇṭhaddha-bhairava*, *bhairavī*, *patamañjarī*, *trāṇa*, *guṇāgara*, *gunagarī*, *gāṇdhāra*, *guñjarī*, *narita*, *pañcama*, *hindola*, *ramakarī*, *andhārī*, *nāta*, *coṣasāra*, *śrī*,

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savarī, *śaṅkarābharaṇa*, etc. These *rāgas* can be presented, by changing the ancient standard scale into the present one (*vilāvala*). After music, comes dancing, and there are three sections, describing or enumerating the various kinds of dancing: *nṛtta-varṇana*, *pātra-nṛtta-varṇana*, and *preraṇa-nṛtta-varṇana*. The 10 qualifications of the drum-player (*mūraji*) are mentioned, also the 12 kinds of drum-music (*mūraja-vādya*), the time-beats (*tāla*), 10 *rasas*, 30 *vybhicārī-bhāvas* or opposed sentiment, and so forth.

The book has been edited by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M.A.,D.Lit.,F.R.A.S.B., and Bābuā Miśra, Jyotiṣa-tīrtha, Jyotiṣācārya, and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in 1940.

7. RĀGATARAṄGIṆĪ: Written by Kavi-Locana Paṇḍit. This book was written in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D. Locana mentions in his *Taraṅgiṇī* that the writing of the book was finished in 1082 of the Śaka era (*bhujavasu-daśamitra-śaka*), corresponds to roughly 1160 A.D. But this is not correct. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa also utilized Locana's *Taraṅgiṇī*, when he worte his *Hṛdayaprakāśa* and *Hṛdayakautuka*, the time of which is assigned to 1660 A.D. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe fixes the date of the *Taraṅgiṇī* somewhere before Hṛdaynārāyaṇa. He mentions that a genuine manuscript of the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* had been found in Bombay,

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and it was quite different from the book published from Dvārbhāṅgā (Dvāra-Vaṅga). The *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* admits 12 *saṁsthānas* or *melas*, and they are: *bhairavī*, *toḍi*, *gaurī*, *karṇāta*, *kedāra*, *iman*, *sāraṅga*, *megha*, *dhānaśrī*, *pūrvī*, *mukhārī* (it is different from the *mukhārī* of Vidyāraṇya, of the 14th-15th century), and *dīpaka*. Its standard pure scale is similar to the *kāphī-mela* of the modern Hindusthānī system, to some extent.

8. RĀGA-SAṄGĪTA-SAMGRAHA : Written by Locana Paṇḍit. This encyclopaedic book on music was compiled after *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*. But it is not available. This work seems to be a great collection of different systems of music of India. Locana mentions : '*etesāṃ prapañcastu matkṛta-rāga-saṁhītā-saṁgraha'nvestavyaḥ*' (एतेषां प्रपञ्चस्तु मत्कृत-रागसंहिता-संग्रहऽन्वेष्टव्यः) ।

9. SAṄGĪTA-DĀMODARA : Written by Śubhaṅkara of Bengal. Śubhaṅkara flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. There is a great controversy about his birth-place. Many are of opinion that he was born and brought up in Mithilā, and many say that he came from Jessore. It is said that he was a devout Vaiṣṇava, and was the follower of Śrī Caitanya. Dr. Monomohana Ghose describes of another Dāmodara, and he says that Govindadāsa was born in the village of Śrīkhaṇḍa, in the district of Burdwān, probably in the sixteenth century A.D. His

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father Cirañjīva Śarmā was also a devotee of Śrī Caitanya. He married the daughter of Dāmodara Sen, the author of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, and leaving Hooghly went to Śrīkhaṇḍa and lived there (vide *Vāṅgalā Sāhitya* [1955] p. 108). Some years ago, Paṇḍit Cintāharaṇa Cakravurty wrote an article on *Śubhaṅkara and Saṅgīta-dāmodara* in the monthly journal, *Pravāsī* (Beng.), edited by the reputed journalist Rāmānanda Chatterjee (Calcutta), and he said that the author of the *Dāmodara* was Śubhaṅkara, a Vaiṣṇava devotee and scholar. Five MSS. of this book have been collected in four different libraries: one in the India Office Library, London, another in Kṛṣṇanagar Library, the third in the Paris Bibliotheque Nationale, and the fourth (incomplete), and the fifth (complete) both in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Alain Daniélou (Śiva-Śaraṇa) has procured a correct MS. from Paris, and he is editing it for publication. He says that the MS. contains five chapters with 1934 *ślokas*. The Government of West Bengal has published it from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

It is said that one *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* was published (in Bengali) from Bengal, but it was mainly a book on dance and drama. Rāmdāsa Sen of Baharāmpur (Murśidāvāda) mentioned in his book: *Aitihāsika-Rahasya*, Vol. I, that

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he procured a copy of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* but unfortunately it happened to be a book on *Alaṁkāra*. It is said that a MS. of the *Dāmodara* has been procured from Nepāl, but it has not yet been published.

One Śubhaṅkara wrote a book on music, and he named it after the name of his youngest son, Dāmodara. Some are of opinian that there were four Dāmodaras, and all were the inhabitants of Bengal. However references to this book are found in many of of the later music treatises. Sir William Jones was of opinion that the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* was an important book of the Bengal school. Copious references of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* are found in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, a voluminous Bengali encyclopaedia, published under the patronage of Rājā Rādhākānta Dev-Bāhādur of Śobhābāzār, Calcutta, and from this it is evident that it was once profusely used by the Paṇḍits and musicians of Bengal.

10. HASTAMUKTĀVALĪ: It was written or compiled by Śubhaṅkara. Two MSS. of this book have been found: one in Bengali character, from the Nepāl Durbār Library (vide MM. H. P. Śāstrī: *Catalogue in the Durbār Library of Nepāl*, 1905, pp. 270 ff.), and the other in Āssamī language, from Auniati-satra, Assām. One Ghanaśyāma (?) wrote a commentary on this book. A manuscript in Newāri script has

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also been found in the Durbar Library, Nepāl.

Hastamuktāvalī is a book on *nāṭya*. It is said that it was composed in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D., before Śubhaṅkara wrote the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*. It has recently been published from the Music Academy of Madras, edited by Dr. Maheśwar Neog of Gauhātī College, Āssām. Dr. Maheśwar Neog is of opinion that the author of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* is quite different from the author of the *Hastamuktāvalī*. But most of the scholars hold that the authors of both the books is one and the same.

11. GĪTA-PRAKĀŚA: The manuscript has been found in Odissi language. The author of this monumental book is the renowned Vaiṣṇava Kṛṣṇadāsa. In the preface of the *Siddhānta-ratnākara* (published from Śrī Nimvārka Sodha-maṇḍala, Vṛndāvana, and edited by Visveśvararśaraṇa, 1956), Govinda Śarmā says: स्वामीजी और कृष्णदास का नाम साथ-साथ आया है। कृष्णदास का देहान्त १६३२ वि० के० आसपास हुआ है।

That is, Kṛṣṇadāsa died in 1632 A.D. Most probably Kṛṣṇadāsa is the author of *Gīta-prakāśa*. The *Gītaprakāśa* was composed between the times of Rudra Gajapati and Śrī Caitanya and Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva, the author of the *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, in the sixteenth-eightenth century A.D. This authentic book was a source of inspiration to many of

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the books like *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, *Saṅgīta-saraṇi*, *Saṅgīta-kāmoda*, *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, etc., and once it was used as a reference book in Greater Bengal. The author of this book, Kṛṣṇadāsa informs us about Rāmānanda Kavirāja, in connection with *Kṣudra-gīta-prabandha* in *guṇḍakirī-rāga*, called *citrapadā* ('उदाहरणं यथा गीतप्रकाशे गुण्डकरिरागेण'). Kṛṣṇadāsa says : 'जयतु रुद्रगजेशमुदितं रामानन्द कविराय कविगीतम्'. Dr. Rāghavan says that this Rudra is *Vīra Rudra Gajapati*, the Utkal King, contemporary to the famous Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, whom the latter defeated and whose daughter the latter married. Rāmānanda Rāy was a mystic poet. He was once the political officer or local governor at Vidyānagara, on the Godāvari river, under the Gajapati King Pratāparudra. Rāmānanda's father was Bhavānanda. From the *Gītaprakāśa* we know that Rāmānanda Rāy was well-versed in the classical music.

It is mentioned in the Madras MS. Trien, Catalogue 1919-20 to 1921-22, R. 3176d that the *Gīta-prakāśa* is divided into 15 chapters, and they are : (1) *prabandha-lakṣaṇaṃ*, (2) *cāyālaga-nirupaṇaṃ*, (3) *rūpaka-bhedanirūpaṇaṃ*, (4) *tāla-kalā-vicāraḥ*, (5) *khaṇḍa-vicāraḥ*, (6) *kṣudragīta-prakaraṇaṃ*, (7) *gīta-guṇa-vicāraḥ*, (8) *doṣa-nirūpaṇaṃ*, (9) *nṛtta-lakṣaṇaṃ*, (10) *vādya-lakṣaṇaṃ*, (11) *rāga-vicāraḥ*, (12) *ṣāḍava-nirūpaṇaṃ*, (13) *gīta-praśaṃsā*, (14) *nāyikā-lakṣaṇaṃ*, (15) *nāda-vicāraḥ* (vide *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, Vol. IV, 1933, p. 57). The complete MS. is available

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in the Madras MSS. Library. Kavicandra Kāli Candra Pattanāik of Cuttack also possesses two MSS. of it, together with the MSS. of *Saṅgīta-saraṇī*, *Saṅgīta-kāmoda* and *Nātyamonoramā*, all written by Oriyā authors. These have also been mentioned in the Anjar Cat. Vol. II.

12. SAṄGITA-SARAṆI : It was written by Kavi-Nārāyaṇa, who was greatly indebted to Kṛṣṇadāsa of the *Gītaprakāśa*. It is said that Kṛṣṇadāsa was the music-teacher of Swāmī Haridāsa at Vṛndāvana. Some are of opinion that Kavirāj Kṛṣṇadāsa Goswāmī, the author of *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* was the teacher of Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī. But it seems that the former opinion is correct, for many reasons.

It is said that Kavi-Nārāyaṇa was the son of Puruṣottama-Miśra, the spiritual teacher of King Narāyāṇa-deva. Dr. Sukumar Sen says in his *A History of Brajabuli* (p. 263) that Puruṣottama-Miśra was mostly known by the name Premadāsa or Premānanda-dāsa (1712 A.D.). Dr. Sen states : 'The poet's real name was Puruṣottama-Miśra, and he obtained the title '*siddhānta-vāgīśa*''. Dr. Rāghavan is of opinion that 'the King (Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva) had, in his court, many poets and scholars, one of whom was his *guru*, Puruṣottama-Miśra, who had the title of Kavi-Ratna' (—JMA, 1933, p. 75). But it seems that Puruṣottama hold both the titles, '*siddhānta-vāgīśa*' and '*kavi-ratna*'. Regard-

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ing this title, *kaviratna*, we know from the introductory verses of the *Saṅgīta-saraṇī* :

नारायणाख्यमिश्रेण कविरत्नेन यत्नतः ।
विततायते सतां प्रत्यै-र्सङ्गीतसरणिः स्फुटा ॥

इति श्रीशाण्डिल्यवंशावतंसायित सकलशास्त्रकुशल सङ्गीत-साहित्यविद्यार्णवकर्णधार-कविरत्न-पुरुषोत्तममिश्रस्य आत्मजेन कविरत्न-नारायणमिश्रेण विरचितायां सङ्गीतसरणौ गीताभिधानं नाम प्रथमः प्रवेशः समाप्तः (Vide *JMA*, Madras, 1933, p. 76). From these it is evident that Kavi-Nārāyaṇa's real name was Nārāyaṇa-Miśra, and he got the title of '*kaviratna*', like his father. Kavi-Nārāyaṇa quoted many musical compositions of his father, in his *Saṅgīta-saraṇī*. Puruṣottama-Miśra was also well-versed in music, which is proved by his book, *Vaṁśīśikṣā*.

It is found that many of the music materials of the *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* have been quoted in the *Saṅgīta-saraṇī*. Kavi Nārāyaṇa specially mentioned two varieties of *prabandha-gītis*, *śuddha* and *sūtra*. Many of the *prabandhas* are possessed of peculiar names like *balabhadravijaya*, *śaṅkara-vihāra*, *kṛṣṇavilāsa*, *uṣābhilāsa*, *navanāgalalita*, *medinījātakalita*, *śrīkṛṣṇavilāsa*, etc. These are known as the *śuddha-prabandha*. The *sūtra-prabandhas* are : *guṇḍicā-vijayasūtra*, *rāmābhyudaya-sūtra*, *rāghavavijāyasūtra*, etc.

13. SAṄGĪTA-NĀRĀYAṆA : It was composed by Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva of Khemundi, a place in Southern Orissā, in the 17th

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century A.D. Dr. Rāghavan says in his *Latter Saṅgīta-Literature* that Nārāyaṇa-deva was the king of Parlakimedi or of the Khemundi line. 'The work opens with an account of the dynasty of King Nārāyaṇa, who belongs to the Gaṅgā dynasty. He was the son of Padmanābha'. R. D. Banerji says : 'In the twenty-third *aṅka*, the Khurda territories were attached by another chief, named Nārāyaṇa-deva of Parlakimedi and and Vīra Kiśora's *Diwān* was sent * *' (vide *History of Orissa*, Vol.II, p.120). R. Sewell mentions that one Vīra-Pratāpa-rudra-Nārāyaṇa-deva, son of a Padmanābha lived between 1748 and 1766 A.D. (vide *Archaeological Survey of South-India*, pt.II, pt.186). Kavicandra Kāli Caraṇa Pattanāik of Cuttack wrote to me : 'I have collected six different readings of the manuscripts, of *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, from different parts of Orissā, and in each manuscript the name of the author is Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva of Khemundi * * . You have dated *Saṅgīt-nārāyaṇa* at the last quarter of the 18th century A.D. which should be 17th century A.D. I have collected this information from the family chronology (*krushināmā*) of the Khemundi Rāj family, to which the author of *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* belongs' (letter Ref. No. RF (1) 246/58, dated the 10th May, 1958). The *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* is avai-

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lable in the Madras. MSS. Library also (vide also Trien Cat. 1919-20 to 21-22 MS. No. R. 3234, and Cat. 1922-25, R. 4212).

The *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* contains four chapters: (1) the first chapter contains *nāda* or causal sound, *śruti* or microtone, *svara* or note, *grāma* or scale, *rāga* or melody, *gīta* or song, and *tāla* or rhythm; (2) The second chapter contains *vādya* or drumming, (3) the third one contains *nṛtya* or dance, and (4) the fourth one, *prabandha*. Many music materials have been quoted in it from the *Nārada-saṁhitā*, *Pañcamasāra-saṁhitā*, *Saṅgīta-ratnamālā*, *Bṛhaddeśī*, *Saṅgītasāra*, *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa*, *Saṅgīta-kalpataru*, *Saṅgīta-candrikā*, etc.

It is said that Nārāyaṇa-deva wrote also the *Alaṁkāracandrikā*. The *candrikā* deals with the topics of the *alaṁkāras*, applicable to music. These *alaṁkāras* are 50 in number: 'इति प्रसिद्धालङ्काराः पञ्चाशत् परिकीर्तिताः'। Some are of opinion that the real author of this book is Puruṣottama-Miśra. Dr. Rāghavan says that King Nārāyaṇa mentioned also the names of Kṛṣṇadatta, Vācaspati, and others.

14. SAṄGĪTA-KAMODA: It was written by Gopīnāth Kavibhūṣaṇa. He was the son of Vāsudeva Pātra of *Karaṇa* family, who was the *guru* and court-physician of King Jagannāth-Nārāyaṇa: "करणकुलसम्भव कवि भिषग्वर वासुदेवपात्रतनय श्रीमद् गोपीनाथ कवि-भूषण-

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कृतौ कविचिन्तामणौ * * '। Dr. Rāghavan says that it is a work mainly on poetics and dramaturgy, and the 24th chapter has been devoted to music.

15. SAṄGĪTASĀRA : It is said that this book was written by Harināyaka-Sūri. His name has been mentioned in the *Saṅgīta-saraṇī* and *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*. Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva quoted Harināyaka-Suri as one of the great authorities on music : 'सङ्गीतसार-हरिनायक-रत्नमाला-गीतप्रकाश-मुखदर्शित-वर्त्मनैव' or 'तदुक्तं हरिनायकेण' or 'हरिनायकन्तु अनिबद्धमाह-आलप्ति-रनिबद्धं स्यात् रागालापनरूपिणी'। (vide *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, 1933, pp. 73-74). Dr. Rāghavan is of opinion that 'Harināyaka has described many difficult and rare *prabandhas* in his work from Bharata's treatise, and the illustrations of these are to be found in the *Gītaprakāśa*'.

16. KĀLAṄKURA-NIBANDHA : It was written in Oriyā language by one Kaviratna Kālaṅkara. It is said that he wrote a new version (*rāgamālikā*) on the *rāga* chapter of the *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa* by Paṇḍit Dāmodara. Some are of opinion that when Kālaṅkara mentioned : 'दामोदरेण स्वग्रन्थे यथोक्ता रागमालिका', he meant by the word 'दामोदरेण' the book, *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* by Śubhaṅkara. But this does not seem correct, as he meant Paṇḍit Dāmodara or Dāmodara Miśra of the *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa*. King Nārāyaṇa also quoted Kālaṅkara,

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in connection with rhythm (*tāla*), and called him as one of his preceptors: 'अस्मद्गुरु कविरत्नमिश्र'। Dr. Rāghavan is of opinion that 'it is likely that this *Kaviratna*, contemporary and teacher of King Nārāyaṇa, is identical with the author of *Kālaṅkara-nibandha*'.

17. SAṄGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHAMU : It is a Telegu *Kāvya* on music, dedicated to Śiva Akalaṅka. It was written by Tiruveṅkata Kavi, published by Music Academy of Madras. This book was probably produced in Tāñjore.

18. SAṄGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA : Written by King Jagajjyotiramallaṃ of Nepāl, in 1617-1633 A.D. (Nepāl Era 799). This book deals with music, dance and drama in prose and verse.

19. SAṄGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA : Written by Paṇḍit Narahari Cakravurty or Ghanaśyama-dāsa II. It was composed in the early 18th century A.D. It is purely a book of collection, containing all the topics on *svara*, *rāga*, *tāla*, *vādyā*, *rasa*, *abhinaya*, etc. Paṇḍit Narahari was a devout Vaiṣṇava saint and a great scholar. It remained unpublished so long. Recently a correct and reliable manuscript has been procured and Published from the Rāmakṛṣṇa Vedānta Math, Calcutta, critically edited with an introduction in English by the present author in 1956.

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Narahari Cakravurty repeatedly mentioned the names of *Saṅgītasāra* by Harinārāyaṇa-Sūri (1500 A.D.), *Saṅgīta-śiromaṇi*, *Nārada-saṁhītā*, *Saṅgīta-muktāvalī*, *Gīta-prakāśa*, etc. in his *Saṅgītsāra-saṁgraha* and *Bhaktiratnākara*. In the *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* by King Nārāyaṇa-deva (1760 A.D.), we find the names of *Gīta-prakāśa*, *Saṅgīta-śiromaṇi*, *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* of Puruṣottam Miśra (1730-1750 A.D.), *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* by King Nārāyaṇa-deva, *Saṅgītsāra* by Harināyaka (Sūri), *Kavicintāmaṇi* by Gopināth Kavibhuṣaṇa. The *Gīta-prakaśa* was written in Utkala Pradeśa or Orissā.

20. SAṄGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA : Collected and compiled by Rājā S.M. Tagore. It was published in 1875 by J. C. Vasu Company, Calcutta. It contains six chapters on *svara*, *rāga*, *tāla*, *vādya*, *nṛtya*, *nātya*, etc. In the *rāga* chapter, Sir Ś.M. Tagore has elaborately dealt with the *rāgas* and *raginīs*, and their different *dhyānas* from the books like *Nārada-saṁhitā*, *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa*, *Rāgārṇava*, *Saṅgītasāra*, *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, *Saṅgīta-candrikā*, etc.

21. SAṄGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA : It is a collection of Bengali songs, of the 19th century.

22. SAṄGĪT-RĀGA-KALPADRUMA : by Paṇḍit Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsa. It was compiled in 1843 in Bengali, Hindi and Sanskrit. It is a collection of *dhruvapada*, *kheyāl*, and other traditional types of songs, together with a theoretical portion in Sanskrit, compiled from different original books on music.

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23. SAṄGĪTA-TARAṄGA : by Rādhāmohan Sen. It was published twice in 1225 and 1256 B.S. It has been written in Bengali verses, and deals with the topics on *svara*, *rāga*, *tāla*, *prabandha*, etc. The chapters on *svara*, and *rāga* have specially been dealt with, throwing some new light.
24. SAṄGĪT-TARAṄGA : compiled by Rādhāmohan Sen. It was published in 1245 B.S. It is not now available.
25. RASIKA-MANORAÑJANA : by Rāmanidhi Gupta (Nidhu Bābu). A book on Bengali *tappā*, published in 1820-1830 A.D.
26. YANTRAKOṢA : by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in 1282 B.S. Various musical instruments of the East and West have nicely been described in it. It is a unique book of musical instruments in Bengali.
27. SAṄGĪTSĀRA : by Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī. It was published form Calcutta in 1286 B.S. (1879 A.D.) It is written in Bengali, and contains theory, history and many songs, with *daṇḍā-mātrika* notations.
28. YANTRAKṢETRA-DĪPIKĀ : by Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, published in Calcutta in 1890. Both the current and rare *rāgas* have been depicted with *daṇḍa-mātrika* notations, for musical instruments. It is an authentic book of reference in Bengali.
29. GĪTAGOVINDA : A book on the *daṇḍa-mātrika* notations of the *padagānas* of Thākur

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Jayadeva. Tho notations were made by Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, in *Āṣāḍa*, 1278 B.S., The book was published from the Vaṅga-Nātyālaya, Pāthuriāghātā, Calcutta. The *rāgas* selected and added to the *padagānas*, are quite different from those, mentioned in the original *Gītagovinda*, and their melodic forms are of the modern types, such as, *rāga-yogīyā—tāla-teota*, *rāga-bihaṃgaḍā—tāla-āḍā*, *rāga-bhimpalaśrī*, etc. Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī mentioned in the conclusive note that he got those notations from his master Rāmaśaṅkara Bhattācārya of Viṣṇupur, Baṅkurāh, Bengal.

30 SAṄĪTA-RATNĀKARA : by Navin Candra Dutt of Calcutta. The book has been dedicated to Sir S.M. Tagore, as the author is indebted to the Rājā in many respects, for the collection of the materials of the book. The book is in Bengali, and contains 300 pages. It is divided into five chapters, namely *svara*, *rāga* (with *daṇḍa-mātrika* notations of the songs), *vādya* (with some illustrations of the musical instruments), *tāla*, and *nṛtya*. An Appendix and a long Introduction have been added to the book. It is not now available.

31. RĀGAMĀLĀ : by Fazil Nachir Muhammed. The author comes from East Bengal. The book was written in 1086 B.S. Nachir Muhammed was the disciple of Peer

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Muhammed, and was born in Sultānpur, Chittāgong. Forty two *rāgas*, with their *rāginīs*, their characteristic features, and *dhyānas* have nicely been described in Bengali. It is not now available.

32. DHYĀNAMĀLĀ: by Ālī Rājā or Kāmu Fakir. It was published from somewhere in East Bengal. It is not available.

33. THE EIGHT PRINGIPAL RĀGAS OF THE HINDUS: (English): by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in 1880, from Calcutta.

34. SIX PRINCIPAL RĀGAS OF THE HINDUS: (English): by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published from Calcutta in 1877, with 8 plates.

35. UNIVERSAL HISTORY OF MUSIC: (English): Compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1896, from Calcutta. It contains the history of music of Asian and European countries.

36. MUSIC BY VARIOUS AUTHORS: (English): Compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in two parts, in one volume, in 1882, from Calcutta. It contains reprints from the music books by the Western authors like Capt. N. A. Willard, Sir William Jones, Sir William Ousley, J. D. Paterson, F. Fowke, F. Gladwin, and others.

37. SEVEN PRINCIPAL MUSICAL NOTES OF THE HINDUS (With their Presiding deities):

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Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1892, from Calcutta.

38. HINDU MUSIC (English) : Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1875, from Calcutta.

39. THE MUSICAL SCALES OF THE HINDUS : (English) : Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1884, from Calcutta.

There are also other books on music by Rājā S. M. Tagore in English and Bengali.

40. THE GĀNDHARVA-KALĀPA-VYĀKARAṆAṂ (Sanskrit) : Compiled by S. M. Tagore, published by Saśibhuṣan Kṛtiratna-Bhattācārya, in 1824 Śaka.

41. GĪTASŪTRASĀRA : Written by Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee. It was published with a long Appendix by Himāṅśu Śekhar Banerji, in 1341 B.S. The first volume deals with the theory and history of music, and the second volume contains the staff notation of many musical compositions.

42. GĪTASŪTRASĀRA (ENG.) : Translator's explanations and notes to Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee's '*Gītasūtrasāra*', Vol. II, part II, by Himāṅśu Śekhar Banerji of Berhāmpore (Bengal), published by Nirendra Nāth Banerjee, Calcutta, in September, 1941 A.D. It is an explanatory exhustive and illuminating notes on the *Gītasūtrasāra*. It deals with modes and scales, natural tempered scales, *laya* or tempo, rhythm, drumming, Sanskrit

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metres, musical forms, *rāga, vādī samvādī,* etc., *rāgas* in notation, merits and demerits, proper season and time for *rāga,* graces and ornaments, Tamburā and suggested improvements for it, *svara, mela, śruti, grāma,* ancient *grāmas* and corresponding modern notes, etc. This English note book may be called the 'Grammar and Theory of Indian Music'.

43. HĀRĀMAṆI : It has been edited by Prof. Muhammed Manusuruddīn of Rājshāhī College, and published by the Calcutta University in 1942. It is a collection of folk songs like *bāul, bhātiyāli, jārī, sārī, gāzī,* etc. An illuminating Introduction has been written by Kaviguru Rabindra Nath Tagore.

44. PATUĀ-SAṄGĪTA : Many of the songs of the *Patuās* have been collected and edited by Gurusadaya Dutt, I.C.S. It has been published by the University of Calcutta in 1939.

45. PŪRVA-VAṄGA-GĪTIKĀ : It is a collection of the love-episods and ballads of East Bengal. Most of the ballads of East Bengal were collected by late Candra Kumar De. Afterwards they were edited by Rāi Bāhādur Dinesh Candra Sen, and was published by the Calcutta University, in several volumes. Besides, Nagendranāth De, Āshutosh Chowdhury, and others helped to collect the ballads.

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46. MAIMANSINGHA-GĪTIKĀ : It contains the folk songs and ballads of Maimansingha and its adjacent places, in East Bengal. It has been edited by Rāi Bāhādur Dinesh Candra Sen, and published by the Calcutta Unīversity.

Besides these books, there are hundreds of other books on music, written by the personalities like Rāma Prasanna Banerji and Gopeswar Banerji of Viṣṇupur, Bāṅkurāh, Surendra Nāth Banerjee, Rabindra Nāth Tagore, Rajanī Kānta Sen (Kānta-Kavi), Atul Prasād Sen, Dvijendralāl Roy, Dilīp Kumer Roy, Kāzi Nazrul, and many other composers and artists.

B

Non-musical Books containing Musical Materials

1. SADUKTI-KARṆĀMṚTA : Written by Śrīdhar Dāsa, and published in 1206 A.D.
2. KĪRTILATĀ (KĀVYA) : Written by Kavi Vidyāpati in 1400 A.D. It was composed in *śauraseni-apabhraṁśa*, with *maithilī* language. The second chapter *Śṛṅgāra-pravāha* deals with *gīta*, *vādya* and *nṛtya*.
3. KṢAṆADĀ-GĪTA-CINTĀMAṆI : Written by the Vaiṣṇava savant, Viśvanāth Cakravurty.
4. KĪRTANA-GĪTA-RATNĀVALĪ : Written by Kālidās Nāth.
5. PADĀMṚTA-SINDHU : It is an authentic book of the Vaiṣṇava community. It has been

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written by Thākur Rādhā Mohan Sen, who was contemporary to Ghanaśyāma-Narahari (early 18th century A.D.). It contains *dhyānas* of some principal *rāgas*, which were composed according to Rāṇā Kumbha's *Saṅgītarāja*. The later commentators of the *Gītagovinda* have also followed him, in composing the *dhyānas* of the *rāgas*.

6. PADAKALPATARU : Written and collected by Gokulānanda Sen, Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.
7. KĪRTANĀNANDA : Written by Gour Sunder Dāsa.
8. CAṆḌIDĀSA-PADĀVALĪ : Vol. I has been edited by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Paṇḍit Hare Kṛṣṇa Mukherjee, and published in 1341 B.S., with a learned Introduction.
9. MAHĀJANA-PADĀVALĪ : Written by Jagavandhu Bhadra. Part I contains the *padāvalīs* of Vidyāpati, published in 1874, and part II contains the *padāvalīs* of Caṇḍīdāsa, published in 1875, from Kumerkhāli, East Bengal.
10. MAṄGALA-KĀVYAS : These are the socio-politico-religious literature of Bengal. The *Maṅgala-kavyas* were written by different authors in different periods. Probably Bhārata Candra's *Annadā-maṅgal* of the 18th century is the last *Kāvya*. These *Kāvyas* contain many historical materials of music. Various *rāgas* and musical instruments

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specially of Bengal, have been described in these *Kāvyas*. Dr. Āshutosh Bhattācārya, M.A., Ph. D. of the Calcutta University has done creditable research work on the *Maṅgala-kāvyas* of Bengal. His book, *Maṅgala-Kāvyer Itihās* (Beng.) is a unique contribution to the domain of history and Bengali literature. His *Bāṅglār Loka-Sāhitya* is also worth mentioning.

11. KṚṢṆA-KĪRTANA : It was written by Thākur Caṇḍīdāsa (Vaḍu). It has been edited by Vasanta Ranjan Roy, and published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, in 1916.

12. MĀRKAṆḌEYA-PURĀṆA : The chapt. 23 contains the topics on music. The *jātirāgas*, *grāmarāgas*, together with the *deśī rāgas* have been described in it. It has been published from Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay (Sanskrit), and Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta (Bengali).

13. VĀYU-PURĀṆA : The chapts. 86-87 have been devoted to the discussion on music. It has been published from Bombay, and Calcutta. From Calcutta it was edited first, by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar Bhattācārya, and secondly, by Paṇḍit Pañcānan Tarkaratna and was published from the Vaṅgavāsī Press.

14. VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARA-PURĀṆA : The chapters 3,18,19 have been devoted to music i.e., *rāgas*, *tālas*, *nṛtya*, *nātya*, and different musical instruments, etc. It is an encyclopaedic work,

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containing all the Fine Arts, and history, politics, geography, etc. It has been published from the Vaṅkateśvara Press, Bombay.

15. VṚHADDARMA-PURĀṆA: The chapter *madhya-khaṇḍa*, No. 14 has been devoted to the discussion on music.

16. LIṄGA-PURĀṆA: The *uttara-bhāga*, 2-3 contains the topics on music. It was published by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhattācārya, from Calcutta, in 1885. It was also edited by Pañcānan Tarkaratna, and was published from the Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta.

17. AGNI-PURĀṆA: It is also an encyclopaedic work, in which all subjects have been discussed, including *nṛtya*, *gīta*, *vādya*, *nātya*, etc. It was edited and published by Paṇḍit Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhattācārya, in 1882, from Calcutta. It has also been published by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay.

18. AITIHĀSIKA-RAHASYA: Written by Rāmdās Sen, and published in 1876. It contains four essays on music: (a) *Bhāratavarser Saṅgīta-śāstra*, (b) *Saṅgīta-śastrānugata-Nṛtya-Abhinaya*, (c) *Svara-vijñāna*, (d) *Rāga-nirṇaya*.

19. BHAKTI-RATNĀKARA: Written by Ghanaśyāma-Narahari Cakravurty of the early 18th century. It was first published from Baharāmpur, Murśidābād, and then from the Gauḍīya Mission, Calcutta, in 1940. The fifth chapter (*pañcama-taraṅga*) has been devoted to the discussions on music.

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20. GĪTA-CANDRODAYA : Written by Narahari Cakravurty. It is a voluminous book, and its last two chapters have been devoted to the discussions on *tāla* and *rāga*, etc.
21. ŚRĪ GOVINDA-LĪLĀMṚTA : Written by Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāja Goswāmī, and published by Haridās Dāsa, in Caitanyāvda 463.
22. ĀNANDA-VṚNDĀVANA-CAMPU : Written by Kavi-Karṇapūr. It has been published by Syāmlāl Srī Kṛṣnalāl Gupta, from Bombay, in 1867. The 20th chapter has been devoted to music.
23. GĪTĀVALĪ : Written by Śrī Rūpa Goswāmī.
24. SAṄGĪTA-MADHYA : Written by Pravodhānanda Sarasvatī.
25. Other books like the *Gīta-kalpataru*, *Rāgamālā*, *Āgama-saṅgīta*, *Rāga-mārga-laharī*, and *Gīta-cintāmaṇi* are worth mentioning.
26. ŚIVA-SAṄGĪTA or ŚIVA-SAṄKĪRTANA : Written by Rāmeśvara. MS. No. 16, in the Cooch Behār State Library.
27. PADĀVALĪ : by Balarāmdās. Balarāmdās was contemporary to Śrī Caitanya (1486—1527 A.D.)
28. BALARĀM-DĀSER PADĀVALĪ : Edited by Br. Amar Caitanya, and published by the Nava-Bhārata Publishers, Rādhā Bāzār Street, Calcutta, in 1958. Dr. Sukumer Sen has contributed an illuminating Introduction to it, and *A Short History of Padāvalī-Kīrtana*, written by Swāmī Prajñānānanda, has been

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added. It is a collection of the *padas* or *padagitīs* by Balarāmdās.

29. KĀLĪ-KĪRTANA: by Kavirañjana Rāmaprasād Sen. It was first published during his time (probably 1720-1730 A.D.) It contains 29 *kīrtanas*, of which 17 are composed with the sentiments of motherly love (*vātsalya-rasa*), 5 with the themes of *pūrvarāga*, 1 hymn, and 1 with the description of *rāsalīlā*. Rāmprasād was born in Hālīsahar, in Hooghly district. According to Vijayarām Sen-Viśārad, the author of *Tīrtha-Maṅgala*, Rāmprasād was born in Kumerahātta. It is said that Rāmprasād was also influenced in Vaiṣṇavism by Lakṣminārāyaṇa. But he mostly wrote the *Kālikīrtanas*.

30. SAṄGĪTA-GOURĪŚVARA: by Gaṅgādhara Tarkavāgīśa Bhattācārya. It was composed on the 2nd *Vaiśakha*, in 1772 Śaka Era, i.e. in 1850 A.D. It was printed in Samvāda Prabhākara press. It was written in both Sanskrit and Bengali verses. The author composed some of the songs, imitating the verses of Jayadeva, but the theme of his composition was of *Śiva-Śakti*.

It must, therefore, be admitted that Bengal made an immense contribution in the field of Indian music, both classical and folk. Thousands of composers and singers appeared in Bengal, and joined their hands, in a spirit of amity and love. Different types of music, with their novel

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technique and texture, came forth. Artists and lovers of music adopted new methods and modes of classical music from outside of Bengal,—from Delhi, Āgrā, Gwālior, Punjab, Jaunpur, Banaras, Gayā, Lucknow, and other places, enriched their treasures, by inventing many new forms of music and methods of presentation, composed innumerable songs, and wrote and compiled many treatises on music, impregnated with the spirit, and religious sentiments of Bengal. Their honest attempts were successful. The remains of the past leave behind the impetus and inspiration for the present generation as well as for the future. Let, therefore, the noble culturists and pioneers of Indian music of Bengal combine in a spirit of friendship, to collect, culture and preserve the music and musical literature of Bengal, so as to prove the glorious and undying legacy of the cultural atmosphere and tradition of Greater Bengal.

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Chapter Eight

DEVELOPMENT OF PADĀVALĪ-KĪRTANA OF BENGAL

Kīrtana is a religio-devotional type of song, which is sung with classical melody and rhythm, in praise of God, hero or superman. It is prevalent in all parts of India in some form or other. There must have occured many changes or modifications in it, at different times, before coming into its present classical form. Some are of opinion that it might be possible that *kīrtana*, in its most primitive form, was very simple and crude, and it was mostly prevalent among the aboriginal tribes of India, in remote antiquity. W. G. Archer says in his informative book : *The Blue Grove, the Poetry of the Urāons* (1940) that he noticed a type of folk or tribal music, called '*kīrtana*', among the uncivilized aboriginal Urāons, in the hilly district of Chotanāgpur. He is of opinion that *kīrtanas* or tribal songs of the Urāons and other primitive hilly tribes are probably the precursor or forerunner of the present developed classical type of *padāvalī-kīrtana*, as it is a fact that the simple folk music is the origin of the developed art music. Archer says : 'Urāon dance poems are fitted to the drum rhythms, and are sung by the boys and girls while the

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dances revolve. Most of them are poems of four lines. In the dances which have a definite advance and reverse action, the first two lines are called the '*or*' or opening movement and the third and fourth lines are known as the *kīrtana* or reverse'. Further he says: 'The '*or*' takes the lines of dancers anti-clockwise on the circle. After it has been repeated three or four times there is a stop or hitch in the dance and the movement is reversed—the line moving back clockwise, while the *kīrtana* is sung and repeated. Where there are more than four lines in the dance poem, the fifth and sixth lines and the seventh and eighth are treated as additional *kīrtanas*, and after each *kīrtana* has been sung and repeated the dance moves back into the '*or*' action and repeats the first two lines before it goes on to the next. A few dances do not have any obvious reverse action, and in these cases the *kīrtana* is sung as an addition or variation to the '*or*'—the poem being sung over and again as long as the dance lasts'. In fact, the *kīrtana* of the aboriginal Urāons is a kind of primitive type of dance-music. Generally this type of tribal song is possessed of four lines; and when the Urāons go forward, after singing two lines, it is known as '*or*', and when they go backward, after singing the remaining two lines, it is known as '*kīrtana*'. So it is evident that the tribal songs of the Urāons of Çhotanāgpur is a combination of '*or*' and '*kīrtana*',

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which is quite different from the characteristics of *padāvalī-kīrtana* of the Bengal.

While surveying the historical development of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal, we find that during the time of Rājā Lakṣmaṇa-sen (1178-1179 or 1184-1185 A.D.), the classical *prabandha* type of music was profusely cultured, as evidenced from Thākur Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, and other types of *padagīti*. From the history of Bengal we know that classical dance and music were cultured by the Gupta Rulers (third-sixth century A.D.). In the coin, we find a figure of Samudragupta, depicted as a *veeṇā*-player. When the Pāla Rulers were in power (seventh-eight century A.D.), many of the rural ballads and folk songs were composed, and sung with classical tunes (*rāgas*). During the reign of Gopīcandra and the queen Maināvatī (or Madanāvatī), *śāstric* dances and music were cultured in different temples and places of Bengal. Many musical remains discovered from the Lāmāi Hill, testify the fact.

The nucleus of Vaiṣṇava *padas* or *padāvalīs* is found in Hāla Satavāhana's *gāhā-sattaśai* (i.e. *gāthā-saptaśatī*), in the first-fifth century A.D. Hāla describes some of the *padas*, composed of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa's *vrajalīlā*. Bhatta-nārāyaṇa composed some *nāndī-ślokas* of the drama, Veṇī-saṁhāra (seventh-eighth century A.D.), describing Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa's *rāsa* function, on the bank of Jamunā, and they have been acknowledged by

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Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka*, in the nineth century A.D. Ānandavardhana also quotes a beautiful *pada* or *padagīti* of an unknown author, who composed it with the theme of *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. Dr. Śāśibhuṣaṇ Dāśgupta says that this particular *pada* has been quoted by Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvita*, in the tenth-eleventh century A.D. Trivikrama-Bhatta also composed some *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-padas* in his *Nalacampu* in 915 A.D. Some of the *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-padas*, describing *vrajalīlā*, are found in the *Kavindrasamuccaya*, in the tenth century A.D., and one of the *padas* have been quoted by Bhojarāja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, in the eleventh century A.D., and Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānuśaraṇa*, in the twelfth century A.D. Śrīdharadās has also mentioned that particular *padagīti* in his *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. Besides, Bhojjala-kavi,[1] Saradātanaya, Kavi Karṇapūra, Sāgaranandī, Ramaśarmā, and others have also composed *padagītis*, describing the divine episodes of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa's divine *vrajalīlā*.

Then we come across with Thākura Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, Līlā-śuka Thākur Vilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, and Śrīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, in the twelveth-thirteenth century A.D. When Jayadeva composed *Gītagovinda*, *vrajabuli* was not introduced as the language of the

1. Some are of opinion that Bhojjala-kavi and Abhinavagupta are one and the same man.

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padagītis. Some say that it was first written in *prākrit* and was afterwards Sanskritised. Some are of opinion that the *Gītagovinda* was known as *nātagīti*, written in *avahatta* language. The language *avahatta* was an admixture of Sanskrit, Prākrit and Bengali. Some other again hold the view that the *Gītagovinda* was practised as group-music or *pālāgāna*. But that is not wholly correct, as it was composed of *mātrāvṛtta* metre (*chanda*), mixed with *tripadī*. Some are again inclined to call the *Gītagovinda* as *aṣṭapadī*, and the name is very common in South India. But, truly speaking, the name *aṣṭapadi* is not befitting the *Gītagovinda*, as it is not composed of only eight verses or *padas*, rather it consists of different groups of verses. As for example, the first chapter (*sarga*) consists of 49 verses, the second one of 21 verses, the third one of 16 stanzas, and the fourth one of 23 verses, etc.

Jayadeva was the court-poet of Rājā Lakṣmaṇa-sen, the worthy son of Rājā Vallāla-sen. The renowned poets like Govardhana, Dhoyī, Śarana, and others were contemporary to Jayadeva. In the *padagītis* of *Gītagovinda*, we find the beautiful description of the divine sportive plays (*līlā*) of Vṛndāvana, but it seems that they were merely the reproductions of those of Mathurā, Dvārakā and other adjacent places, as described in the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*. Śrī Rādhā or Rādhikā has been described by Jayadeva, as one of the eight chief Gopīs of Śrī Kṛṣṇa,

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and this idea was probably incorporated by him from the *Bhāgavata* and *Purāṇas*. Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta says in this connection that 'Jayadevā's exact source is not known. There are parallelism between the extremely sensuous treatment of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend and that of the *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa*, but there is no conclusive proof that Jayadeva's inspiration was the Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend of the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, which avoids all direct mention of Rādhā (who is also not mentioned by *Līlāśuka*), and describes the autumnal, not vernal, *rāsalīlā*'. It is true that the word 'Rādhā' does not occur in the *Bhāgavata*, in the sense of divine consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but there occurs only the word '*ārādhita*' i.e. 'worshipped'. The *Bhāgavata* states in the 10th chapter (30.24) :

Anayārādhito nūnaṃ bhagavān hari-rīśvaraḥ /
Yanno vihāya Govindaḥ prīto yāmanaya-
drahaḥ //[2]

That is, 'the Hari has certainly been worshipped by this woman, because Govinda has been pleased to bring her in the lonely place, leaving us all behind'. Sanātana Goswāmī, Viśvanāth Cakravurty, and other Vaiṣṇava savants have interpreted the word '*ārādhitaḥ*' as 'most

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2. अनयाराधितो नूनं भगवान् हरिरीश्वरः ।
यन्नो विहाय गोविन्दः प्रीतो यामनयद्रहः ॥

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beloved and venerable Rādhā'. Sanātana Goswāmī comments on the *śloka* as '*anaiva ārādhitaḥ ārādhya vaśīkṛtaḥ na asmābhiḥ. Rādhayati ārādhayatīti rādheti nāmakāraṇañca darśitaṃ*'.[3] Viśvanāth Cakravurty says : '*nūnaṃ harirayaṃ. rādhāṃ itaḥ prāptaḥ*'.[4] Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadās Goswāmī also accepts the view of Sanātana Goswāmī in his *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* thus :

Kṛṣṇa-vāñcāpūrtirūpa kare ārādhane /
Ataeva rādhikā nāma purāṇe vākhāne //[5]

In the mythico-historical epics like *Padma*, *Skandha*, etc., the word 'Rādhā' has been mentioned with Lalitā, Viśākhā, Candrāvālī, and other female attendants (*sakhīs*). Dr. S. K. De is of opinion that although Rādhā is not mentioned in the *Rāsapañcādhyāya* of the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, yet the Gopīs figure prominently in the romantic legend, and their dalliance with Kṛṣṇa is described in highly emotional and

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3. अनयैव आराधितः आराध्य वशीकृतः न अस्माभिः।
राधयति आराधयतीति राधेति नामकारणञ्च दर्शितम्।
—वैष्णवतोषणी-टीका।

4. नूनं हरिरयं राधितः। राधां इतः प्राप्तः * * ।

5. कृष्णवाञ्छापूर्तिरूप करे आराधने।
अतएव राधिका नाम पुराणे वाखाने।
—चैतन्यचरितामृत (आदिलीला, ४र्थ परिच्छेद)

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sensuous poetry. Some say that Jayadeva was influenced by the religious doctrine of Nimvārka, and so he gave Rādhā a high place in his *padagītis*. But this view is untenable, as we find that Jayadeva was mostly influenced by the doctrines of earlier literature like *Pañcarātra*, different *Purāṇas*, and *Śrīmadbhāgavata*. It is also true that the fundamental doctrine and philosophical ideas of the *Gītagovinda* are greatly based on the religious thoughts of the earlier *Pañcarātra-saṁhitā*. The *Śrīmadbhāgavata* also follows most of the ideas and ideals of the *Mahābhārata*, *Khila-Harivaṁśa*, and *Purāṇas* like *Brahmavaivarta*, *Viṣṇu*, *Padma*, *Skandha*, etc. There is also a great controversy, regarding the date of the *Bhāgavata*, the authentic religious literature of the Vaiṣṇvas. Some are of opinion that as the *Bhāgavata* adopts the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu, depicted in the earlier *Pañcarātra* literature like *Sātvata*, *Ahirvyadhna*, *Parameśvara*, *Jaya*, *Īśvara*, *Parama*, *Padma*, etc., in the beginning of the Christian era, it might have been compiled not earlier than the eighth-ninth century A.D.

But it should be investigated as to how and when the popular cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa or Bhāgavatism exactly evolved in the Indian society. We gather from the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* that *Devakī-putra* Kṛṣṇa was the disciple of Ghora Āṅgirasa, a priest of the Sun, and worshipper of the Fire-god (Agni), who taught Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa was a Kṣatriya scholar and seer, who

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flourished, according to Jain tradition, about 1000 B.C. 'Vāsudeva', says Dr. Rādhākamal Mukherjee, 'seems to have been an accepted form of the Vedic god, Viṣṇu, at the close of the Vedic period. According to the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu are three aspects of same god. In the *Mahābhārata*, we find the story that Pauṇḍraka pretended to be Puruṣottama or Viṣṇu and was known under the name of Vāsudeva. * * It was the Sātvatas, an important branch of the Yādava race, who first recognised Kṛṣṇa not merely as their tribal hero and leader (*Sātvatam-varaḥ*), but as the Supreme God, or the Sun whom he taught them to meditate upon. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa's indentification with the Sun is clearly indicated in the *Māhābhārata* (XII. 341.41).[6] Thus Kṛṣṇa came to be known as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and his worshippers were called Pañcarātras or Bhāgavatas'.

We find again that the Sātvatas were at first the worshippers of the Sun (*sūryopāsaka*), and when the Sun was deified as Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, 'the radient Lord of the Sky', they began to worship Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as the representation of the radiant Sun. Pāṇini (500 B.C.) describes Vāsudeva as the son of Vasudeva of the race of the Vṛṣṇis. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* also states: 'Of the Vṛṣṇis, I am Vāsudeva'. Patañjali

6. Vide also *Bhagavad-Gītā*, XIII. 18.

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(150 B.C.) mentions Vāsudeva as Bhāgavat or 'the Adorable'. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee is of opinion that the *Mahābhārata* repeatedly refers with respect to the *Pañcarātra* or *bhakti* literature which deals with the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa and Puruṣa. The worship of the personal deity Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-Puruṣa derived invaluable support from the early Vedic conception of the deity, Viṣṇu or Puruṣa. 'The later *Upaniṣads* from about 250 B.C. onwards preached the doctrine of Īśvara or Lord and of revelation vouchsafed to whomsoever the Lord chooses. The new theistic doctrine was preached by the Bhāgavatas or Vāsudevakas, named after Vāsudeva, who is Kṛṣṇa himself, and is later identified in an *Āraṇyaka* with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, and in the famous Besnagar inscription of the convert Heliodorous (the Greek envoy of King Antialkidas of Taxilā) with the Supreme God, Devadeva Viṣṇu. This was in the 2nd century B.C., when the cult of Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa (later considered as Kṛṣṇa's brother) was mentioned as prevalent, especially in Central India and the Deccan'.

Further Dr. Mukherjee observes that the *Bhāgavata dharma* and Vāsudeva cult spread from the Yamunā valley to Central India, Rājputanā and Mahārāstra, and by the 2nd century B.C. it was a popular cult throughout India, attracting foreigners also. 'In Vidiśā, the worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva and Pradymumna, associa-

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ted with the *Pañcarātra* doctrine, is indicated by the inscriptions of the 2nd-1st century B.C. The celebrated inscription of Vidiśā, about 180 B.C. of the Greek convert Heliodorous mentions Vāsudeva as the God of Gods (*devadeva*), in whose honour the foreigner erected a flag staff with the image of Gaḍura on the top. The Nanāghāt cave inscription of the first century B. C. invokes both Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva among other deities; while the Ghosundi and Hathibada inscriptions mention Pārāsarīputra Sarvatāta as having constructed a stone enclosure for the place of worship called Nārāyaṇa vāṭa for Bhāgavat Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. The Tusam inscription of the 4th or 5th century A.D. mentions Yasastrāta as a devotee of Bhāgavat belonging to the Brāhman *Gotama-gotra* who inherited the Yoga practice of the Ārya Sātvatas through many generations. * * According to a Syrian legend, the cult was prevalent in Syria as early as the second century B.C. reaching there by the familiar land-route of trade. The bid of Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism to become an orthodox Indian religion is clearly indicated in the second century B.C. by the assimilation of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa into the earlier Vedic gods, Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa'. Again the Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism 'was the most popular religion in the Gupta and post-Gupta epoch, and obtained converts from foreigners as well as from the Śudras and women'. Kālidāsa gave a superb

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expression to the swelling tide of *bhakti* in Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism of this age.[7]

Again there is a great controversy regarding the first incorporation of the word 'Rādhā' in the Vaiṣṇva literature. Most of the scholars are of opinion that the word 'Rādhā' first occured probably in Hāla Satavāhana's *Gaha-sattaśai* (*Gāthā-saptaśati*), written in the first or second-fifth century A.D. Vāṇabhatta mentions about Hāla in his *Harṣacarita*, in the seventh century A.D. Hāla mentions only once the word 'Rādhā' in his *Sattasai* or *Saptaśati*, in connection with Kṛṣṇa's *vrajalīlā* thus :

Muhamāru-eṇa taṃ kahṇa goraaṃ
rāhi-āeṅ avaṇento /
Etāṇaṅ valaveeṇaṃ aṇṇānaṅ vi gora-aṃ
harasi //[8]

Here 'rāhi-āeṅ' stands for 'Rādhā'. The meaning of the *śloka* is : 'O Kṛṣṇa, you have

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7. (a) Vide Dr. R. K. Mukherjee : *A History of Indian Civilization* (second edition, 1958), pp. 152-53,239,242.

(b) 'In the *Kāvyas* of Kālidāsa we find not only Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, but Kṛṣṇa is also called Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa'.—Ibid., p. 242.

8. मुहमारुएण तं कण्ह गोरअं राहि आएं अवणेन्तो।
एताणं वलवीणं अन्नाणं वि गोरअं हरसि ॥
—सप्तशति १।८९

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removed, by blow of your mouth, the dust from the mouth of Rādhā, and thus you have stolen the glory of these beloved ladies and other women'. Now, it is proved from the lines that there was one Gopī named Rādhā, who was very favourite to Kṛṣṇa. And Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta says that the Divine couple (*yugala-mūrti*) inscribed in the temple-wall, discovered from Pāhāḍapur excavation, undoubtedly prove that the doctrine of Rādhā (*Rādhāvāda*) was prevalent even before the eighth century A.D. The mention of Rādhā is also found in Bhatta-nārāyaṇa's *Veṇī-saṁhārā* (drama) and Ānanda-vardhana's *Dvanyāloka*, in the eighth-nineth century A.D.

It is said that Śrī Caitanya and Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Goswāmīs gave Rādhā the high or prominent place in the Vaiṣṇava literature, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D., and it is proved by a Sanskrit *śloka*, which explains as to how the ancient human love-lyrics were gradually transformed into divine sportive play or love-dalliance of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (*Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-līlā*). The *śloka* runs thus :

Yaḥ kaumāraharaḥ sa eva hi varastā eva
caitrakṣapā-
ste conmīlita-mālatī-surabhayaḥ prauḍhāḥ
kadambānilāḥ /

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Sā caivāsmi tathāpi tatra surata-vyāpāra-
līlāvidhau-
revārodhasi vetasī-tarutale cetaḥ samut-
kaṇṭhate //[9]

That is, 'he is my husband, with whom I was intimate before my marriage. The same *caitra-saṁkrānti* (i.e. the last day of the month of *caitra*) has appeared again, the same sweet fragrance of the full-blown *mālatī* flower, together with the breeze, are coming through the *kadamba* garden; I am also present in this place, and the sweet remembrance of that conjugal love before my marriage, under the shade of *vetasa* creeper, on the bank of the river *revā*, makes me mad and impatient'. It is said that Śrī Caitanya recited twice this *śloka*, before he met Śrī Jagannāth at Puri. Kavirāja Kṛṣṇdās Goswāmī explains the inner significance of the *śloka*, as recited by Śrī Caitanya, in his *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* thus :

ये काले करेन जगन्नाथ दरशन ।
मने भावे कुरुक्षेत्रे पाञाँछि मिलन ॥
* * *
कृष्ण लञाँ व्रजे याइ - एभाव अन्तर ॥
एइभावे नृत्यमध्ये पड़े एक श्लोक ।
सेइ श्लोकेर अर्थ केह नाहि बुझे लोक ॥

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9. यः कौमारहरः स एव हि वरस्ता एव चैत्रक्षपा-
स्ते चोन्मीलितमालतीसुरभयः प्रौढ़ा कदम्बानिलाः ।
सा चैवास्मि तथापि तत्र सुरतव्यापारलीलाविधौ-
रेवारोधसि वेतसीतरुतले चेतः समुत्कण्ठते ॥

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Further he says in the *Caritāmṛta* (*madhyalīlā*, first chapter) :

तथापि आमार मन हरे वृन्दावन ।
वृन्दावने उदय कराह आपन चरण ॥
* * *
आमा लइया पुनः लीला कर वृन्दावने ।
तवे आमार मनोवाञ्छा हयत पुरणे ॥

Rūpa Goswāmī also comments on the above *ślokas* : '*yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ*', etc., in his *Padyāvalī*, and says that they are the mystic talks of Rādhā with her beloved female companions (*sakhī*). He has also composed a similar *śloka* : '*priyaṃ so'yaṃ*', etc. in this connection.

From those *ślokas* it is understood that the conception of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as a divine child (*vāla-gopāla-mūrti*), connected with the sportive play or love-dalliance of Rādhā at Vṛndāvana, instead of Mathurā, Dvārakā, and other places, originated with Śrī Caitanya and his followers. And this fact is also proved by half of the *śloka*, recited by Caitanya, while he fell in trance (*bhāva-samādhi*) at the sight of the top of the temple of Jagannāth at Puri, and the *śloka* is ;

Prāsādagre nivasati puraḥ smera-vaktrāravindo,
māmālokya smita-suvadano vāla-gopāla-
mūrtiḥ //[10]

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10. प्रासादग्रे निवसति पुरः स्मेरवक्त्रारविन्दो
मामालोक्य स्मितसुवदनो बालगोपालमूर्तिः ॥
Dr. Sukumār Sen is of opinion that the *vāla-gopāla-mūrti*

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It is very interesting to know as to how the simple rural love-episodes of the Bengali Ābhīra boys and girls were transformed into the divine sportive play or *līlā*. The Ābhīra boys used to dress themselves as *nāyaka* Kṛṣṇa, and the girls as their love-mates or *nāyikās*, which are profusely found in the ballads of East Bengal (*pūrva-vaṅga-gītikā*). Some are of opinion that there are two reasons behind it: (1) firstly, many ballads or love-songs were current among the Ābhīra community, and they were composed within the atmosphere of the simple villages. Those ballads spread all over the countries, in the form of *chaḍā* or lyrics. They were gradually incorporated in the mythico-historical *Pūraṇas*, as they were very interesting themes for the composition of literature or *kāvya*, and (2) secondly Vaiṣṇavism together with the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult began to spread under the influence of the Sena Kings, from eleventh-twelfth century A.D. The mystic poets composed songs or lyrics on the subject-matter, and they were much appreciated by the people of all communities. At last it so happened that no song or lyric was composed without the theme of Kṛṣṇa. Gradually religious and spiritual significances were attributed to those songs or lyrics, and

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of Śrī Kṛṣṇa began to be worshipped by the Vaiṣṇava community after the twelfth century A.D. In the *prākrit gāthā*, we also find the mention of 'अज्जवि वाली दामोदरो * *' etc.

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Rādhā-Kṛśṇa cult became the central theme of the latter Vaiṣṇava literature, and spiritual *sādhanā*.

In the Vaiṣṇava *Sahajiyā* school we find also the ontological principles of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as the eternal enjoyer and enjoyed (*bhoktā* and *bhogya*). The Vaiṣṇava *Sahajiyā* school maintains the view that all men and women are physical manifestations of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. 'When men and women can, therefore, realise themselves as the manifestations of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā through the process of attribution (*āropa*), the love of any human couple becomes transformed into the divine love that is eternally flowing on between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā ; when the union of a human couple thus becomes the union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the highest spiritual realisation dawns in the state of union or *yugala*'. The esoteric Buddhist *Sahajiyā* school also follows the method of this *sādhanā*, the only difference lies in the adoptation of the principle of enjoyer and enjoyed, as the *Sahajiyā* Buddhism adopts *prajñā* and *upāya*, or *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*, as the two primary attributes of the ultimate reality which is *sahaja*. That is, the Buddhist *Sahajiās* conceived *sahaja* as *mahāsukha*, which is 'the unity of the duality, represented by man and woman as *upāya* and *prajñā*'. This method for the realization of *sahaja*, says Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta, essentially consisted of sexo-yogic practice. The Vaiṣṇavas

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supplied the element of love to it. The *sahaja* was then conceived as supreme love, which can be realized by the union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who reside in the corporeal form of man and woman. This method of *sādhanā* seems to be the divinisation of human love.

It has already been said that the Vaiṣṇava movement of Bengal, in the line of the Kṛṣṇa cult or Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, grew along the traditions of the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* and the *Puraṇas*, 'and there was perhaps', says Dr. Saśibhuṣan Dāśgupta, 'through the life of Caitanya and some renowned Gosvāmīs, some influence also of the devotional movement of the South. The first literary record of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is to be found in the famous lyrical poem the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva. After him Caṇḍīdās and Vidyāpati (who, though a Maithili poet, was more popular in Bengal than in his native province) sang the immortal songs of the eternal love of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, and were precursors, as some scholars are disposed to think, of Śrī Caitanya, * * Vaiṣṇavite apostle like Mādhavendra-puri, Advaitācārya, Śrīvāsa and others, of course, flourished just before the advent of Caitanya, but the advent of Caitanya was some thing like a fruition of all their devotional penances, and it was an event which was really epoch-making in the religion and literature of Bengal. Caitanya, as he is interpreted by his followers, embodies in him the quintessence of

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both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, is the realiser and the realised in the same personality'.

'Through his life and teachings Caitanya preached a doctrine of divine love, which was philosophically systematised and theologically codified by the six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana, viz., Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunāth Dās, Rahgunāth Bhatta, Gopāl Bhatta and Jīva Gosvāmī. The philosophical and theological system known as Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism (i.e. the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal) is really the contribution of these six Gosvāmīs, who were all religious apostles, inspired by the life and teachings of Caitanya. Pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal generally flourished with the legends of Kṛṣṇa and his dalliances with the cowherd girls of Vṛndāvana and particularly with Rādhā, but in post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism, the divinity of Caitanya as the synthesis of the two aspects of the same reality as the lover and the beloved was recognized and emphasised, and as a result thereof post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇava literature laid the same stress, if not more, on the life and teachings of Caitanya as on the legends of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.'[11]

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11. (a) Vide *Obscure Religious Cults*, pp. xlii—xliii.

(b) Some are of opinion that Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, together with the cult of the divine sportive play of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa evolved in the Gauḍadeśa, in the middle of the sixth century A.D.

But it is a fact that the ancient *Bhāgavatatantra* of Mathurā, founded by Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudèva, and the *Bhāgavata-*

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Before the advent of Śrī Caitanya, *padāvalīs* were composed with the theme of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, but after Caitanya's initiation into *sannyāsa* (renunciation), and his recognition as the incarnation of Śrī Rādhā, the trend of composition of the *padāvalīs* took a new course, with a novel outlook. The sportive play of Kṛṣṇa, and specially Rādhā's separation from Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa-viraha*) began to be realised through those of Caitanya. Then the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa doctrine was interpreted through the medium of the divine activities of Caitanya, and that was the chief object of the Vaiṣṇava composers (*pada-kartās*), during Caitanya's time. The Caitanya cult came into the foreground, instead of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, just as the historical or metaphysical Buddha receded back into background, giving rise to his descending images of Maitreya and Amitābha. Gradually *mahajāna-padāvalīs* were composed, collected, and sung in the form of *kīrtana*, and *gauracandrikā* was introduced in praise of Śrī Caitanya, for the fuller realization of the divine sportive play of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (*Rādhā-Kṛṣṇalīlā*). In this way, the *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-*

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tantra, evolved in Magadha in the Gupta age, were different from the Vaiṣṇavism of the Gauḍa-Vaṅga. The Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism, it it said, evolved from the admixture of the doctrines of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, as depicted in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, and Vāsudeva-Kṛiṣṇa of the *Bhāgavata* and the *Pañcarātra*, and Gopāla-Kṛiṣṇa, as depicted in the *Purāṇa*, and Kālidāsa's *kāvyas*.

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līlā became gradually a secondary one, giving prominency to *Caitanyalīlā*, and Sri Caitanya became familiar as Śrī Gaurāṅga (incarnation of Śrī Rādhā) among his devoute followers.

We find some *padagītis*, current among the Ālvāras of the ancient Vaiṣṇava community of South India, in the fifth-ninth century A.D. The *padagītis* were known as the *divya-prabandha*, and from the very name we know that they used to be sung with metres, melody (*rāga*), rhythm, and tempo. They were nearly four thousand in number. The Ālvāras used to conceive themselves as devoted woman or *nāyikās* of Viṣṇu, and the Lord Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa as the only *nāyaka*.[12] J. S. M. Hooper translated many of the Tāmil hymns of the Ālvāras, and in them we find the mention of one Nāppinnāi, who was described as the beloved *Gopī* of Kṛṣṇa, the divine Incarnation of Viṣṇu. There is no mention of Rādhā in their hymns. It is said that Kṛṣṇa once danced the dance of *kuravavai-kūttu*, along with Balarāma and beloved Nāppinnāi.[13]

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12. Perhaps the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava *sādhakas* of Vṛndāvana incorporated the idea from the Ālavāras, who maintained that Śrī Kṛṣṇa was the only *puruṣa*, and all others were women, in Vṛndāvana.

13. Vide S. K. Aiyanger : *Early History of Vaiṣṇavism in South India*, and Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta : *Śri Rādhār Kramavikāśa.*

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After Jayadeva, many mystic poets like Vaḍu Cāṇḍīdāsa of Nānnura, Līlā-śuka Vilvamaṅgala Thākur of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, Umāpatidhara, the court-poet of Rājā Lakṣmaṇasena, Umāpati Ojhā of Mithilā, Vidyāpati, the court-poet of Rājā Śiva-siṅgha flourished from twelfth to sixteenth century A. D. In the fifteenth-sixteenth century, there flourished again Rāy Rāmānanda, Yośorāja Khāṅ, Murāri-gupta, Narahari-dās, Vāsudeva Ghose, Madhāva Ghose, Rāmānandā Basu, Raghunāth-dās, Vṛndāvana-dās, Balarāma-dās, and other scholars and mystic poets in Bengal and Orissā, and they were all the followers of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult. Most of them were the personal attaches and followers of Śrī Caitanya. Some of the Vaiṣṇava poets flourished at the same time in Āssām, and they were Śaṅkaradeva, Mādhavadeva, Pītambara-kavi, Nārāyaṇadeva, and others. They also composed *padagītis*, which were sung with classical *rāgas* and *tālas*. There was a great unity in the spheres of language, religion and culture of Bengal, Bihār, Orissā and Āssām. The *avahatta* language was gradually replaced by the *vrajabuli*, to some extent The Vaiṣṇava poets of Āssām and Orissā were also influenced by the *vrajabuli*, in the composition of the *padas* or *gānas*.

Now, what do we mean by the language, *vrajabuli*? Does it mean the spoken language of the Vrajamaṇḍala, i.e. Mathurā, Vṛndāvana

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and their adjacent places? No, it is quite different from the spoken language of the *Vraja* or *Vrajamaṇḍala*. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of opinion that the ancient composers of the *padas* or *padagītis* selected it as the language of the Vaiṣṇava *padāvalī-kīrtana*. They called it as *vṛjāvāli*, and not *vraja* or *vṛjabuli*, and for this reason many people mistook it as an original language of the *Vrajamaṇḍala*. They took it also as the divine language of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Besides, they erroneously found a similarity between the spoken language of *Vrajamaṇḍala* and that of the *padāvali-kīrtana*, and specially between their intonation and grammar. But, it has been said that *vṛja* or *vṛajabuli* is absolutely different from the spoken language of Vṛndāvana and its adjacent places.

The *vrajabuli* or *vrajabhāṣā* was considered as the language of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* at the end of the sixteenth century A.D. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of opinion that *vrajabuli*, as the language, evolved from the language of *avahatta*, being much influenced by the languages, *Maithilī*, *Hindu*, *Rājasthānī*, *Bengalī*, *Prākrit*, *Odissi*, etc., in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. The *vrajabuli* was developed under the patronage of the Rulers of Nepāl, Tirhut and Moraṅga. After the Sen Kings, and especially after Rājā Lakṣmaṇasen, the Vaiṣṇava lyrics were greatly appreciated in Nepāl and other Himalāyan regions. Śrīnivāsa Malla, the King of Nepāl,

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composed many *padagītis*, which were not inferior to those, composed in Mithilā, Bengal, and Orissā, in the fourteenth-nineteenth century A. D. The themes of those *padagītis* were in praise of the divine couple, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Before the advent of Śrī Caitanya (fifteenth century A.D.), the themes of the *Vaiṣṇava-padāvalīs*, *nāmagāna* or *nāma-goṣṭha* were the legends of the sportive plays or love dalliance of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, and their female companions or *Gopīs*, that happened at Dwārkā, Mathurā, and other adjacent places, depicted in the *Bhāgavata* and other epic literature. Again it seems that almost all the songs, including the enigmatic songs, ascribed to Caṇḍidāsa, known as *rāgātmikā-padas*, and the texts were composed by the exponants of the *Sahajiā* cult in the post-Caitanya period, and mostly in or after the seventeenth century A.D. Now regarding the types of songs, it has already been said that before the advent of Śrī Caitanya, different types of *gītis* like *nātagīti*, *śivāyana caryā*, and *vajra gītis*, *maṅgala-gāna*, *jhumura*, *pāñcālī*, *rāmāyaṇa-gāna*, *bāula*, etc. were current in Bengal. Different group-songs or *pālāgānas* were practised in Burdwān, Veerabhūma, and different corners of *Rāḍhadeśa*, in West Bengal. Those group-songs were composed with the musical sketches like *goṣṭha-līlā*, *māthuralīlā*, *mānabhañjana*, *rāsa*, *nandotsava*, etc. They were similar to ancient type of

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kīrtana or *nāmagāna*. They are still surviving in West Bengal, under the name of *vādāi*, and they are exclusively sung by groups of singers on the occasions of *janmāṣṭamī* and *nandotsava* celebrations of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. All these *gītis* were possessed of classical *rāgas* and *tālas*.

The *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal evolved out of the materials of variant types of the *gītis* like *bāul*, *maṅgala*, *pañcālī*, etc., which were current before the advent of Śrī Caitanya. It also drew its inspiration from the Tāntric Buddhist *dohās*, *caryā* and *vajra*, and the mystic *prabandha-gītis* of the *Gītagovinda*. Some are of opinion that the themes of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* were nourished by the simple ballads, composed of thousands of rural love episodes of heroes and heroines of East Bengal.

From Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century) we come to know that the *maṅgala*, *caryā*, *pañcālī*, *jumura*, *carcarī*, *paddhaḍī*, *rāhaḍī*, and *kīrtana* types of songs were possessed of classical forms or patterns. Śāraṅgadeva says in his *Śaṅgīta-Ratnākara* that the *prabandha* type of songs was mainly of two kinds, *niryukta* and *aniryukta*. The *niryukta* type of song was possessed of metre (*chanda*), rhythm (*tāla*), tempo (*laya*), and melody (*rāga*), whereas the *aniryukta* one, being free from metre, rhythm and tempo, was possessed of only melody or *rāga*. This has also been described by Muni Bharata (second century A.D.) in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The

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carcarī or *cāñcara*, *caryā*, and *maṅgala* types of songs were of the *niryukta* type of the *prabandha gītis*.

Besides *niryukta* and *aniryukta* types, the *prabandhas* were again divided in three classes, *sūḍa*, *ālī*, or *ālī-saśṁśraya*, and *viprakīrṇa*. The *sūḍa* class of songs were further divided into eight classes, and they were : *elā*, *karaṇa*, *ḍheṅki*, *vartani*, *rāsa*, *ekatālī*, etc. The *āli-saṁśraya* type of songs were twenty-four, and *viprakīrṇa-prabandhas* were thirty-six, in number. The *carcarī*, *caryā*, *paddhaḍī*, *veraśrī*, *maṅgalācāra*, *dhavala*, *maṅgala*, and others were included in the *viprakīrṇa* group.

The classical *karaṇa-prabandha* was again classified into eight types, and they were : *svara*, *pāta*, *bandha*, *pada*, *tena*, *viruda*, *citra* and *miśra*. These eight *karaṇas* have been described by Śāraṅgadeva and his commentators, Siṁhabhupāla[14] and Kallināth. Each *karaṇa* type of song was possessed of some special feature. They were sometimes sung in unision, and some of the parts of the songs were sometimes repeated. The drums and dances with raised hands accompanied the songs, and they remind us the scenes of mystic Bāuls of Bengal and Sufī

Siṁhabhupāla says ,

14. षष्टधा करणं तत्र स्वराद्यं पाटपूर्वकम् ॥
वस्त्वादिमं पदाद्यं च तेनाद्यं विरुदादिमम् ।
चित्राद्यं मिश्रकरणमितीमां * * ॥
—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।१२३-१२४

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Darvises of Arabiā. This type of dance is prevalent in *kīrtana*, even in these days.

The eight *karaṇa* types of songs were further divided into three classes, and they were: *maṅgalārambha*, *ānandavardhana*, and *kīrtilaharī* or *kīrtipūrvikā-laharī*.[15] The *kīrtilaharī* was a special type of song, that used to be sung in praise of gods, heroes, or supermen like *kīrtana* of Bengal, and all other countries of India. Śāraṅga-deva says about the special feature of the characteristics of the *prabandha kīrtanalaharī* thus :

Udgrāhasya dvitīyārdhaṃ dhruvārdha-sthānagaṃ yadi /
Itarat-pūrvavat-kīrtilaharī kīrtitā tadā //[16]

During the presentation of the *prabandha-gīti*, *kīrtanalaharī*, half of the music-part (*dhātu*), was sung, and in place of the other half, the second part of the music-part, *udgrāha* was presented with tune, and the rest was similar to the *prabandha-gīti*, *ānandavardhana*. Some of the parts were repeated again and again. Sometimes the *prabandha-gītis* were accompanied by the clapping of hands, and beating of drums.

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15. मङ्गलारम्भ-आनन्दवर्धनं कीर्तिपूर्विका।
लहरीति विधा तानि प्रत्येकं गानभेदतः॥
—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।१४२

16. उद्ग्राहस्य द्वितीयार्धं ध्रुवार्धस्थानगं यदि।
इतरत्पूर्ववत्कीर्तिर्लहरी कीर्तिता तदा॥

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Like *kīrtilaharī*, *caryā* was a *prabandha* type of song. It was absolutely spiritual. It was divided into two classes, *pūrṇa* (complete) and *apūrṇa* (incomplete). They were again classified into two, *samadhruvā* and *viṣamadhruvā*. The one or two stanzas were repeated in the *samadhruvā* type of songs, and only the music-part, *dhruva* was repeated in the *viṣamadhruvā* type. The *caryā* contained generally three music-parts, *udgrāha*, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*, and *melāpaka* was dropped.

Like *caryā*, *maṅgala* was also a *prabandha* type of song. It was sung with the stanzas, named *maṅgala*, with slow tempo (*vilamvita laya*), or *maṇgala* metre[17], and *kaiśiki* or *botta rāga*. The *maṅgala* type of song was an auspicious one, and Śāraṅgadeva says: '*kaiśikī-rāge botta-rāge vā kalyāṇa-vācikaiḥ padair-vilamvita-layena maṅgalo geyaḥ. Athavā maṅgala-nāmnā chandasā*'.[18] The *kaiśikī* or *kaiśika* was a *grāmarāga*, and it was sung in the dramatic song (*nātya-gīti*) at the end of the play: '*saṃhāre kaiśikaḥ proktaḥ * * brahmanā samudāhṛtaṃ*'.[19] That is, Brahmā-bharata of the pre-Christian era says that the *grāmarāga* should be applied at the end of

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17. There is no Vedic metre called *maṅgala*, and it seems it was adopted sometime before or during Śāraṅgadeva.

18. कैशिकीरागे वीडरागे वा कल्याणवाचिकैः पदैर्विलम्बितलयेन मङ्गलो गेयः।
अथवा मङ्गलनाम्ना छन्दसा। —सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर

19. संहारे कैशिकः प्रोक्तः * * ब्रह्मणा समुदाहृतम्।

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a drama. It evolved out of the *jātirāga, karmāravi.* Śāraṅgadeva calls it the *śuddha-kaiśika,* which was different from the *bhinna-kaiśika, takka-kaiśika, kaiśika-madhyama,* and *bhinna-kaiśika-madhyama,* etc.

The *botta* or *bhota* i.e. *bhotta-rāga* was a formalised regional tune of the Himālayān *Bhotadeśa* (Bhutān, Tibet, etc.). Once there was a cultural link between Tibet and India, and the Indian musicologists adopted this tune from the *Bhotadeśa,* like *śaka, tūruṣka-toḍī,* etc. The *botta* or *bhotta rāga* has been mentioned by Mataṅga in the *Bṛhaddeśī,* and so it is probable that it was adopted in the Indian stock before the fifth-seventh century A. D. It evolved out of the *jātiraga, ṣaḍja-madhyama.* Śāraṅgadeva says that this *grāmarāga* or *rāga* was very favourite to Śiva, the divine husband of Bhavāni or Devī Durgā : '*utsave viniyoktavyo bhavānīpati-vallabhaḥ*'.[20]

Kīrtana is also a *nibaddha* type of *prabandha gīti,* and is possessed of metre, melody, rhythm, and tempo. Like *kīrtilaharī* or *kīrtipūrvikā-laharī,* it is a special type of song that is sung in praise of God, hero or superman. The word '*kīrti*' signifies reputation, praise, or greatness Paṇḍit Vācaspati clarlfies it in his dictionary, *Vācaspatyābhidhāna* : '*kīrtī* – *kīrta* + *ktin. Khyāti-*

20. उत्सवे विनियोक्तव्यो भवानीपतिवल्लभः।

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर

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*bhede amaraḥ. Khyātibhedaśca dhārmikatyādi praśasta-dharmavattvena nānā-deśīya kathana. jñāna-viṣayatā. Kīrtiśca jīvato-mṛtasya vetyatra viśeṣo nāsti. * * 21 tatra dānādi-prabhāvā khyātiḥ kīrtiḥ saurvādi-prabhavā khyātiryaśa iti kocid yaśa-kīrtyaur-bhedamāhuh *. *'.* Manu also explains the word '*kīrti*' as '*prajnaṃ yaśasca kārtiśca brahmavarcasameva ca*',[22] Therefore *kīrtana* does not mean only the *Vaiṣṇava-padāvalī-gīti*, in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, or *Bāla-gopāla-mūrti*, but it signifies also all kinds of music that are sung in praise of them, who are superior in quality, power, learning, etc. In the *Pañcarātra* literature and *Bhāgavata*, the word '*kīrtana*' has been used as a special type of song, in praise of the glory, greatness and divine sportive plays (*līlā*) of Lord Kṛṣṇa. In the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, we find the mention of :

(a) *Randhrān veṇo-radhara-sudhāyā punayan gopa-vṛndair-vṛndāraṇyaṃ svapada-ramanaṃ prāviśad gīta-kīrtiḥ*.[23]

(*b*) * * *śravanāddarśanaddhyānānmayi bhāvo'nu-kīrtanāṃ*.[24]

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21. कौर्ति—कौर्त + ञिन्। ख्यातिभेदे अमरः। ख्यातिभेदश्च धार्मिकत्यादि प्रशस्त-धर्मवत्त्वेन नानादेशीय कथन ज्ञानविषयता। कीर्तिश्च जीवतोऽमृतस्य वेत्यत्र विशेषो नास्ति। * * तत्र दानादिप्रभावा ख्याति: कीर्ति: शौर्यादि-प्रभवा ख्यातिर्दश्च रति केचिद् यशकीर्तीर्भेदमाहु: * *।

22. प्रज्ञां यशश्च कीर्तिं च ब्रह्मवर्चसमेव च।

23. रन्ध्रान् वेणोरधरसुधया पुनयन् गोपवृन्दै-
र्वृन्दारण्यं स्वपदरमणं प्राविशद् गीतकीर्ति:॥

24. * * श्रवणाद्दर्शनाद्ध्यानान्मयि भावोऽनुकीर्तनाम् (भागवत १०।२३।२६)।

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(c) *Gāyantya uccairamumeva saṁhatā.*[25]

The word '*gīta-kīrtiḥ*' signifies '*gīta-kīrtiḥ gītā kīrtiḥ yaśaḥ yasya sa kṣṇa*', etc.[26] *Kīrtana* is synonymous with *gīta-kīrti*. In the latter Vaiṣṇava literature, *kīrtana* has been defined as music, sung in raised voice, in praise of the Lord Kṛṣṇa. Gopāla-bhatta was contemporary to Śrī Caitanya. He wrote an authoritative book on the *Smṛti* : *Haribhaktivilāsa*, where it is mentioned : '*kalau saṁkīrtya keśavaṃ*'.[27] or '*kalau taddhari-kīrtanāt*'.[28] While commenting on it, Sanātana Goswāmī, says : '*saṁkīrtya samyak uccāiruccāryyeti sadyaḥ svarupānanda-viśeṣārthamuktaṃ*'.[29] Besides, he says that the word *saṁkīrtana* signifies the singing of the holy name, in praise of God or any other deity : '*saṁkīrtanaṃ nāmoccāraṇaṃ gītaṃ stutiśca nāmamayī*'.[30] Gopāla-bhatta prescribes *kīrtana* as a means to spiritual *sādhanā*, for the Vaiṣṇavas.

In the *Harivaṁśa* (200 B.C.), we find that the songs, in praise of both Viṣṇu and Śiva, were accompanied with dances. As the *sāmaga* Brāhmiṇs used to sing in praise of Hari, Visṇu-Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, so the dancing

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25. गायन्त्य उच्चैरमुमेव संहता (—भागवत १०।१२।४)।
26. गीतकीर्तिः गीताकीर्तिः यशः यस्य स कृष्णः।
27. कलौ संकीर्त्य केशवम्।
28. कलौ तद्धरिकीर्तनात्।
29. सङ्कीर्त्य सम्यक् उच्चैरुच्चार्येति सद्यः स्वरूपानन्दविशेषार्थमुक्तम्।
30. सङ्कीर्तनं नामोच्चारणं गीतं स्तुतिश्च नाममयी।

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girls like Devadāsīs, Vidyādharīs and Apsarās sang the *stutigānas* of Śiva, with dances, hand-poses, and musical instruments. As for example we find :

(a) Udgiyamānaṃ vipraiśca sāmabhiḥ sāmagair-hariṃ.[31]

(b) Nṛtyanti nṛtya-kuśalā gāyanti sma ca kanyakāḥ /
Vidyādharasthānytra stuvantaḥ śaṁkaraṃ śivaṃ //[32]

Now, what do we mean by *stuti* or *stutigāna ?* Sāyaṇa (14th-15th century A.D.) says in his commentary on the Sāmaveda : 'गुणसंकीर्तनपरः पदसमूहः स्तुतिः'। Again he divides the *stuti* type of songs into two, *śastra* and *stotra*, and he says : 'अप्रगीत-मन्त्रसाध्या स्तुतिः शस्त्रं ; प्रगीत-मन्त्रसाध्या स्तुतिः स्तोत्रम्'। Further he states : 'स्तोतव्यायाः देवतायाः स्तावकैर्गुणैः संबन्ध-कीर्तनं स्तौति-शंसति-धात्वीर्वाच्योऽर्थः'। In fact, *stuti* is a kind of *mantra-vākya*, in praise of the deities : 'यदा तु गुण-द्वारेणानुस्मरणीय - देवता - स्वरूप - प्रकाशण-पराणि मन्त्र-वाक्यानि स्युः'। The Vedic *dhūrgāna* (धूर्गानं) was a type of *stutigāna*, in which the *sāmans* were often repeated with three stanzas or *ṛcs*. During Śāraṅgadeva's time (early thirteenth

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31. उद्गीयमानं विप्रैश्च सामभिः सामगैर्हरिम् ।
—हरिवंश, भविष्यपर्व ११५।५

32. नृत्यन्ति नृत्यकुशला गायन्ति स्म च कन्यकाः ।
विद्याधरस्तथान्यत्र स्तुवन्तः शंकरं शिवम् ॥
—हरिवंश, भविष्यपर्व ८८।१४

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century A.D.), we find the practice of the *brahmagītis* like *kapāla* and *kambala*. Kallināth says : '*prāk pūrvaṃ śaṁkara-stutau śaṁkara-stutiṃ viṣayī-kṛtya brahma-prokta-padaiḥ*', etc.[33] Siṁhabhupāla says : '*iti brahma-proktaiḥ* * * *kapālāni gāyan kalyāṇaṃ bhajate*'.[34] The author of the *Harivaṁśa* says : '*pūjārthaṃ deva-devasya gāndharvaṃ nṛtyameva ca*'.[35] These *stutigānas* or *kīrtanas* were accompanied with *hallīsaka* dance, and *chālikya* type of songs. Ugrasena and Yādavas presented the dramatic play with the theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, assisted by Bhadranata. The *hallisaka* dance, *chālikya* songs, and other dramatic songs are mentioned in the *Srīmadbhāgavata*, *Nirukta*, *Garga-saṁhitā*, *Pāṇini-sūtra*, *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, different classical Sanskrit literature, *Purāṇas*, *Pañcatāntras*, Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, etc. The *hallīsaka* dance and the *chālikya* type of songs were connected with the *rāsalīlā* of Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs.

Regarding *hallīsaka* dance, Dhāreśvara Śrī Bhojadeva says in the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*,

मण्डलेन तु यत् स्त्रीणां नृत्यं हल्लीसकं तु तत् ।
तत्र नेता भवेदेको गोपस्त्रीणां हरिर्यथा ॥

Further he says that *hallīsaka* is a kind of *rāsa* (dance), accompanied with rhythm and time-

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33. प्राक् पूर्वं शंकरस्तुतौ शंकरस्तुतिं विषयीकृत्य ब्रह्मप्रोक्तपदैः * * ।

34. इति ब्रह्मप्रोक्तैर्जातिप्रस्तारे कथितैः पदैरुक्तैः कपालानि गायन् कल्याणं भजते ।

35. पूजार्थं देवदेवस्य गान्धर्वं नृत्यमेव च ।
—विष्णुपर्व ६८।५२

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units : 'तदिदं हल्लीसकमेव तालबन्धविशेषयुक्तं रास एवेत्युच्यते'। Regarding *rāsalīlā*, we find in the *Garga-saṁhitā*,

श्रीरागं चापि हिन्दोलं रागमेवं पृथक् पृथक्।
अष्टतालस्त्रिभिर्ग्रामैः स्वरैः सप्तभिरग्रतः॥
नृत्यैर्नानाविधैरमैर्हावभावसमन्वितैः।
तोषयन्त्यो हरिं राधां कटाक्ष्यैर्व्रजगोपिकाः॥

Again we find in the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* :

रामकृष्णादयोः गोपा ननृतुर्युयुर्जगुः।
कृष्णस्य नृत्यतः केचिज्जगुः केचिदवादयन्॥
वेणु-पाणितलैः शृङ्गैः प्रशशंसुरथापरे।
गोपजातिप्रतिच्छन्नदेहा गोपालरूपिणः॥
इडिरे कृष्ण-रामौ च नटा इव नटान् नृप।

These dances (*nṛtyas*) and songs (*kīrtanas*) were known as the *rāsakrīḍā*, *jalakrīḍā*, *chālikyakrīḍā*, *nṛtyakrīḍā*, *nātyakrḍā*, *vaṁśa-nṛtya*, *holikā-mahotsava*, *vasantotsava*, etc. Paṇḍit Śāstrī Fārke says : ' * * *vādyādinā hastamita-kaṣṭhadaṇḍa-dvayena vāghāta-puraḥsaraṃ maṇḍalākāraṃ nṛtyanto gāyanti'.[36] Further we find in the *Garga-saṁhitā*,

नृत्यन्तः कृष्णपुरतः श्रीकृष्ण इव मैथिल।
राधावेशधरा गोप्यः शतचन्द्राननप्रभाः॥

From this it is evident that the songs or *kīrtanas*, in praise of Kṛṣṇa, were always accompanied with classical dances. In his talk on *The Kathak*

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36. * * वाद्यादिना इस्तमितकाष्ठदण्डद्वयेन वाघातपुरःसरं मण्डलाकारं नृत्यन्तो गायन्ति।

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Dance—Its Origin[37], Dr. G. D. Vyāsa says that *hallīsaka*, *nātya-rāsaka* or *carcarī* and *rāsa* were placed in the category of *uparūpakas*. Bhāsa also mentions about *hallīsaka* in his *Bālacarita*, and Śrī Harṣa mentions about *carcarī* in his *Ratnāvalī*. 'Carcarī is exculsively intended for the spring. In the *vṛja* language, it is known as *chāñcara*, *dhāmāra* and *phāg*, and is regularly performed during the days of *holī*. There are special music compositions for it in the difficult *dhāmāra-tāla*, and they too are named as *dhāmāras*'. He further says: 'The *keertanas* make the resourceful music of Vaiṣṇavism. They form an important part of the Dhruvapada school, and originally the music of the Kathak dance. * * The *keertanas* have attributed to Kṛṣṇa poses like Tribhangī and Giridhārī. They have described movements and Maṇḍalas like *Udghata*, *Sancha*, *Urapa*, *Tirapa*, *Lāga* and *Dāt*. They have mentioned gaits like *Gat Mayanda* (elephant), *Haṁsa* and *Mriga Marāla* and moreover, a distinctive gait, *Natavara Gati*, and the Kathaka dance is also known for its Natvari. As regards the *Āṅgika-Abhinaya*, *keertanas* have indicated various positions and movements of the head, neck and arms, and expressions such as *Vrija-Vilāsa*, *Lāsya Hāsa*, and *Bhrikuti-Vilāsa*. As regards hand movements, *keertanas* have freely

37. Vide *Akāśavāṇī* (AIR), Vol No. XXIII, No. 32, August 10, 1958, p. 12.

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used the word '*Hastaka-Bheda-Dikhāve*', which means *Hasta-Abhinayas* of the different types'. Here it should be mentioned that Dr. Vyāsa discusses about the ancient type of *kīrtana*, accompanied with dances and hand-poses, that evolved in connection with the various Kṛṣṇa episodes. This type of *kīrtana* also originated under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism, and it maintains the old tradition, different from that of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, which evolved under the influence of the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism, probably in the sixteenth-seventeenth century A.D.

It has been said that before Śrī Caitanya introduced *nāma-kīrtana*[38], *nāmagāna* or *nāma-goṣṭha* was prevalent in Bengal, and specially in *Rāḍadeśa* (i.e. in Beerbhūm, Katwā and some other portions of Burdwān). The *nāmagāna* or *nāmagoṣṭha* was accompanied by *mṛdaṅga* (*khola*), *cymbals* (*karatāla*), and dancing with raised hands. It has also been mentioned that during Śrī Caitanya's time, different types of classico-folk

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38. Vṛndāvana-dāsa says,

शिष्यगण बलेन कैमन संकीर्तन ।
आपने शिखाय प्रभु शचीर नन्दन ॥
हरि हरये नमः कृष्ण यादवाय नमः ।
गोपाल गोविन्द राम श्रीमधुसूदन ॥
दिआ शिखायेन प्रभु हाते तालि दिया ।
आपनि कीर्तन करे शिष्यगण लइया ॥

Narahari Sarkār, Vāsudeva Ghoṣe and other contemporary Vaiṣṇava savants have described it in their *padagītis*.

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songs like *hāf-ākhḍāi*, *kavi-gāna*, *tarjā*, *bāul*, etc. were current in Bengal. It is said that Yavana Haridāsa introduced *ākhḍāi* and *kavigāna*, and Swarupa-dāsa and Sanātana-dāsa helped him in this matter. Fuliā, on the bank of *Betra*-river in Nadīā, was the main seat of culture of these types of songs. The musicians of Śāntipur, Navadwīpa, and Fuliā, in the district of Nadīā, composed the divine episodes like *sakhī-saṁvāda*, *māna*, *māna-bhañjana*, *jugala-milana*, *māthura*, etc., containing Śrī Kṛṣṇa's divine sports (*līlā*) of Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā.

If we study the source of *kīrtana* i.e. *nāma-kīrtana*, as introduced by Śrī Caitanya, we find that it evolved out of the remains of classico-regional *caryā* and *vajra-gītis*, *Gīta-govinda-gīti*, *Kṛṣṇā-kīrtana*, *nātagīti*, *bāul*, etc. Though it was very simple, yet it followed the *śāstric* rules of metre (*chanda*), melody (*rāga*), rhythm (*tāla*), and tempo (*laya*), and it was included in the *nibaddha* type of music. It was afterwards developed by Thākur Narottama-dāsa, in the sixteenth century A.D. Narottama-dāsa devised a new mode of *kīrtana*, on the basis of *nāma-kīrtana* and ancient type of *nāmagāna* in one side, and *vilamvita* (slow) type of classical *dhruvapada* song, on the other. He mastered *dhruvapada*, when he was at Vṛndāvana, accompanied with Śyāmānanda and Śrīnivāsa. When these three scholar Vaiṣṇavas were at Vṛndāvana, Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī, the renowned master

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of Miāṅ Tānsen, was of ripe age. It is said Haridāsa was initiated in the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava religion, founded by Śrī Caitanya, and being one of the noted Vaiṣṇava *sādhakas*, he was known as Haridāsa Goswāmī, and as the founder of the *Haridasī* or *Sakhī* sect, he was also recognized as 'Swami', the Master. Some are of opinion that though Swāmī Haridāsa was the founder of the *Haridāsī* or *Sakhī* sect, yet he was not really initiated in the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism, and he had only great regard for the neo-Vaiṣṇavism founded by Śrī Caitanya. It seems that he had no special philosophical doctrine of his own, and he adopted the *Sakhī-bhāva* in his spiritual *sadhanā*, as his beloved deity was Śrī Kuñjavihārī. But his followers, at Vṛṇdāvana, recognize him as a staunch follower of the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism. They say that Śrī Caitanya himself adopted the *Rādhā-bhāva* in his life, as he himself 'placed himself in the position of Rādhā and longed in all the tormenting pangs of heart for union with his beloved Kṛṣṇa'. Again it is found that the aesthetic attitude of the Vaiṣṇava poets, headed by Jayadeva, Caṇḍīdasa and Vidyāpati, was *Sakhī-bhāva*, rather than *Rādhā-bhāva*. Dr. Śaśibhuṣan Dāśgupta says: 'It is to be noted that in the religious discourses, which took place between Śrī Caitanya and Rāy Rāmānanda, the latter stressed *Sakhī-bhāva* as the best means for realising divine love. * * The general Vaiṣṇava

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view is that *jīva*, being the *taṭastha-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, is, after all, a Prakṛti and its pride as being the Puruṣa (*puruṣābhimāna*) must be removed before it can be permitted to have its proper place, in the eternal region of *svarūpa-śakti*, and even then only as *Sakhī*, rather than as Rādhā, and never as Kṛṣṇa'. Nabha-Dāsajī's statement in the *Bhaktamāla* and even that of Prof. Wilson in the *Religious Sects of the Hindus* are not wholly historical. So it is possible that Swāmī Haridāsa or Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī adopted the religious attitude of *Sakhī-bhāva*, following the ideal of Jayadeva, Vaḍu Caṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati, and other latter Vaiṣṇava savants, and as he was contemporary of Jīvā-Goswāmī, Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadāsa Goswāmī, and other senior Vaiṣṇava savants of the Caitanya fold, he was undoubtedly influenced by them.

Swāmī Haridāsa was born in *Uccagrāma*, in the district of Multān. It was afterwards named as Haridāspur. Some are of opinion that he was born in Hossiārpur, in the district of Āligarḥ. Others hold that Haridāsa's birth-place was at Rājpur, half a mile away from Vṛndāvana. But the majority of scholars admit Haridāspur, in Multān, as the birth-place of Swāmī Haridāsa. There are also much controversies regarding the date of his birth. In Kavi-Lakṣaṇa's *Bhaktisindhu*, we find that Haridāsa was born in 1441 *samvat*, i.e. on the 8th *Bhādra*, in 1385 A.D. According to

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the Goswāmī's of Vṛndāvana, his birth-date is 1569 *samvat*. According to traditional records Swāmī Haridāsa, was born in 1537 *samvat*. The archaeologist Growse says in his *Mathurā Memoirs*: '* * on the 8th of the dark fortnight of the month of *Bhādon* in the *samvat* year 1441 gave birth of Haridāsa. * * therefore on all grounds we may firmly conclude as an established fact that he flourished at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century A.D., in the reigns of the Emperors Akbar and Jāhāṅgīr'. Swāmī Lalitakiśorejī is of opinion that Haridāsa was born on the 13th *śukla-pauṣa*, in 1569: 'भादों सुकल अष्टमी भू पर प्रगटे श्रीहरिदास'. Swāmī Pītāmvara-devajī also says: 'भादों सुकल अष्टमीके दिन भये मनोरथ पूरण काम'. Nāgari-dāsajī says,

(क) श्रीवृन्दावन निजु कुञ्जमहलमें
सोभा सहज सुहाइ हो।
श्रीललिता[39] हरिदास नाम जु प्रगट
केलि दरशाइ हो॥

(ख) भादुं सुकल अष्टमी रसिकेन हिये
प्रेम भर लाइ हो॥

(ग) भादुं सुकल अष्टमी शुभ दिन सु
वारिद वरषाये जु॥

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39. Swāmī Haridāsa was recognized by his followers as the divine incarnation of Lalitā-Sakhī.

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(घ) प्रगटी श्रीहरिदासि स्वामिनी रसिक
जननि सुखदाइ ।
भादुँ सुकल अष्टमी अद्भुत कही न जाइ ॥

It is, therefore, found that all his disciples and followers admit that Swāmī Haridāsa was born in the *śukla-aṣṭamī*, in the month of *Bhādra* (August-September), in the rainy season, which also corresponds to the views of *Bhaktisindhu*, and Growse. Haridāsa's date of birth and birth-place have also been discussed in Kiśorīdāsa's *Nijamata-siddhānta*, Sahacāri-śaraṇa's *Gurupraṇālikā*, and Brahamacāri Bihāri-śaraṇa's *Nimvārka-mādhurī*. It is said that Swāmī Haridāsa lived for 95 years, and he left his mortal coil in 1608 A.D. But some are of opinion that he died in 1662, whereas Tānsen died in 1646 A.D. According to history, Emperor Akbar died in 1605, and Tānsen died in March (24 *Rajjav*), in 1585, and Haridāsa in 1608. But if we accept the view of Kavi-Lakṣmaṇa's *Bhaktisindhu*, which has been admitted by Growse, then we find that Haridāsa was born in 1441 *samvat*, corresponding to 1569 A.D., and died in 1569 + 95 = 1664 A.D. Again in the preface of the *Siddhānta-ratnākara*, edited by Viśveśvara-Śaraṇa (1956), Govinda Śarmā says : 'स्वामिजी का निकुञ्ज-प्रवेश व्यासजी के लीलाप्रवेश के पूर्व ही होगया था। इसके अनेक प्रमाण हैं। अतः स्वामीजी के निकुञ्ज-प्रवेश का सम्वत् १६३२ मानना ही ठीक होगा, १६६४ नहीं। विशेषकर इस् लिए कि स्वामीजी और कृष्णदास का नाम

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साथ-साथ आया हैं। कृष्णदास का देहान्त १६३२ वि० के आसपास हुआ हैं। * * अतः स्वामी हरिदासजी का जन्म सम्वत् १५३७ में मानने के लिए उपयुक्त कारण पर्याप्त हैं'।

In the *Vyāsa-vāṇī*, we also find the mention of the following lines,

कृष्णदास हरिदास उपास्यौ वृन्दाबन को चन्द।
जिन बिनु जीवत मृतक भए हम सह्यौ
बिपति को फन्द।
तिन बिनु उरकौ सूल मिटै क्यों जिये
व्यास अति मन्द॥

From this we know that Kṛṣṇadāsa (Swāmī) was contemporary to Swāmī Haridasa. Probably this Kṛṣṇadāsa was the author of the *Gītarakāśa*, and Haridāsa took lessons in music from him. Some are of opinion that Haridāsa's music-teacher, at Vṛndāvana, was Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadāsa Goswāmī, the author of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. It is said that Kavirāja-Goswāmī was also a noted musician like Swarupa-Dāmodara, the personal attache of Śrī Caitanya. But there is no genuine historical evidence, whether Swāmī Haridāsa mastered *dhruvapada* and other classical type of music, under the guidance of Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kaviraja. Rather it is probable that when Kṛṣṇadasa, the Vaiṣṇava savant and noted author of the *Gīta-prakāśa* was at Vṛndāvana, Swāmī Haridāsa took him as his *Guru*. Some are of opinion that Haridāsa's music-teacher was one Kṛṣṇadatta. But this view is untenable.

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However, it is true that many Vaiṣṇava savants of that time (fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D.) used to culture the classical type of music at Vṛndāvana. Though Gwālior school of *prabandha-dhruvapada* type of songs was predominant at that time all over India, yet Vṛndāvana created a new school and inspiration, to some extent. When Narottama and his scholarly colleagues, Śyāmānanda and Śrīnivāsa were living at Vṛndāvana, both Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and Swāmī Haridāsa (Goswāmī) were alive. Narmadeśvara Caturvedī says in his article on *Swāmī Haridāsa* (vide *Saṅgīta*, Journal, Sept. 1958) that Hita Harivaṁśa, Harirāma-Vyāsa, Rūpa-Goswāmī, Prabodhānanda-Sarasvatī, and Gopāl-bhatta or Goswāmī Raghunāth-dāsa were contemporary to Swāmī Haridāsa. There is a great controversy as to who was the music-teacher of Thākur Narottama-dāsa. Some are of opinion that he took lessons on music under Swāmī Haridāsa, and some others hold the view that he first took training in classical music from Kṛṣṇa-dāsa-Kaviraja, and then from Advaitadāsa-Goswāmī, the students of Swarūpa-Dāmodara. Unfortunately there is no genuine historical proof in support of these views. But it is a fact that Narottama learned classical music, and especially *dhruvapada* (diminutive from '*dhrupada*') that was traditionally handed down from Baiju-bāorā, Gopāla-Nāyaka, Swāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, Swāmī Haridāsa, Miāṅ Tānsen, and their contemporaries.

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But by this it does not mean that the *prabandha* type of *dhruvapada* classical *gītis* were not current and cultured before Bāiju-bāorā and others, of the fifteenth-seventeenth century A.D. Because we find the definitions and description of different kinds of *nibaddha prabandha* type of *gītis*, during the times of Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.), Pārśvadeva (ninth-eleventh century A.D.), Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.), and others.

In Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, we come across the sixty-four classical dramatic songs (*nāṭyagītis*), called *dhruvā* ('चतुःषष्टि ध्रुवाणां'), which were composed of different letters ('समवृत्ताक्षरकृता अतोऽन्या विषमाः स्मृताः'), music-parts (*dhātus*), *aṅgas* like *svara*, *viruda*, *pāta*, etc. They were *nibaddha* type of *prabandha gītis*, and were presented in accordance with suitable place, time and circumstances ('देशं कालमवस्थां च ज्ञात्वा योज्या ध्रुवा बुधैः' NS. 32.352). The *prabandha* type of dramatic songs, *dhruvās*, *jātis*, *brahmagītis*, *kapālagītis*, *māgadhī*, etc. were probably the precursors or forerunners of the latter *prabandha gītis*.

Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) deals with the *prabandha* type of formalized (*śuddhikṛta*) regional (*deśī*) *gītis*, in the sixth chapter (*prabandhādhyāya*) of his *Bṛhaddeśī* ('देशीकार-प्रबन्धोऽयं'), though he mystifies the origin of the *prabandhas* with the name of the Lord Śiva '(हरवक्त्राभिनिर्गताः'). He defines and at the same time describes various kinds of the *prabandhas*

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like *ḍheṅkī*, *elā*, *daṇḍaka*, *dvipadī*, *caturaṅga*, *śarabha-līla*, etc. He say,

स्वरपाटैर्निबद्धं च भवेत् यत्र पदाष्टकम्।
मतः शरभलीलोऽसौ रागतालाष्टकान्वितः ॥४१५

or

स्वरैः पदैश्च पाटैश्च तेन्तकैश्च[40] समन्वितः।
गीयते तालयुक्तो यः स वर्णासेरकः स्मृतः ॥५०७

But the *Bṛhaddeśī*, that has been published from Trivandrum (1928), is incomplete, as we find that Mataṅga says: 'इदानीं कथयिष्यामि वाद्यस्य निर्णयो यथा', but the book ends abruptly with the *prabandha* chapter ('* * प्रबन्धाध्यायः षष्ठः') and so it is not possible to trace the *dhruva prabandhas* in this book.

Pārśvadeva (ninth-eleventh century A.D.) also deals with the *prabandha gītis*, in the fourth chapter of his *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*. He describes three main classes of *prabandhas*, *sūḍa*, *āli* and *viprakīrṇa*. He further mentions the *dhruva prabandha*, together with its varieties, *maṭṭha* (*maṇṭha*), *pratimaṭṭha* (*pratimaṇṭha*), *lambaka*, *rāsaka*, *ekatāli*, etc. Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) also deals elaborately with the *prabandha* type of *gītis* in the fourth chapter of his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Besides, he divides the *prabandhas* into three main heads *sūḍa*, *āli-saṁsraya*, and *viprakīrṇa* (vide IV. 22-23), following the method of Pārśvadeva. He also divides the

40. The correct reading तेनकैश्च।

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sūḍa type of the *prabandhas* into two, *śuddha* and *chāyālaga* or *sālaga*. The *chāyālaga* and *sālaga* are one and the same ('सालग-छायालगौ-पर्यायौ'). Śāraṅgadeva says that the pure type of *dhruva prabandhas* are of sixteen kinds ('चतुर्दश-गीतानि एतावच्छुद्धम्'), and they are: *jayanta*, *śekhara*, *utsāha*, *madhura*, *nirmala*, *kuntala*, *kāmala*, *cāra*, *naṇḍana*, *candraśekhara*, *kāmoda*, *vijaya*, *kandarpa*, *jayamaṅgala*, *tilaka*, and *lalita*. Kallināth says in his commentary that the seven kinds of the *sālaga-sūḍa prabandhas* like *dhruva*, *maṇṭha*, *pratīmaṇṭha*, *nissāra*, *aḍḍtāla*, and *akatāli* are composed of three music-parts (*dhātus*) like *udgrāha*, *antarā*, and *ābhoga*, *melāpaka* being left out ('एते ध्रुवादयः सप्तापि मेलापकाभावान्त्रिधातवः'), but the *prabandhas*, *maṇṭha*, etc. are possessed of six limbs ('मण्ठादयस्तु षड़पि').

Śāraṅgadeva says that the *dhruva* and other six *prabandhas* are known as *sālaga-sūḍa* ('वक्ष्यमाणं ध्रुवमारभ्य वक्ष्यमाणैकतालीपर्यन्तं सप्तभिः गीतैः सालगसूड़ोऽभिमतः'), though they were previously called as *śuddha-sūḍa* ('शुद्धसूड़ः प्राक्सालगस्त्वधुनोच्यते'—SR. IV. 313), and this term, *śuddha-sūḍa* has been used by Pārśvadeva, in his *Saṅgīta-samayasāra* ('इति शुद्धसूड़ाः')

Regarding the characteristics of the composition of the *dhruva prabandha*, Śāraṅgadeva says,—

एक धातु द्विखण्डं च खण्डमुच्चतरं परम्।
स्तुत्यनामाङ्कितश्चासौ क्वचिदुच्चैकखण्डकः॥
उद्ग्राहस्याद्यखण्डे च न्यासः सध्रुवको भवेत्॥

SR. IV. 316-17.

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That is, the two parts or pieces (of the *dhruva prabandha*) are sung as *udgrāha* (or *udgrāhaka*), the one part or piece is sung as *ābhoga*, and the last part of it is in the high pitch. Again the two parts of *udgrāha*, together with one part of *antarā* (= three parts) are repeated twice. The name of the composer is computed in the *ābhoga-dhātu*, and the song ends (*nyāsa*) in the first part of *udgrāha*. According to some, one of the parts of *ābhoga* is sung in the high pitch.[41] Kallināth says that the *dhruva prabandhas* are included in the category (*aṅga*) of the *tārāvalī jatī* ('एते ध्रुवाद्यस्तालादिनियमान्निर्युक्ताः पदतालवद्धत्वाद्गङ्गा-स्तारावलीजातिमन्त':). The sixteen varieties of the *dhruva prabandha* are composed of different letters (*kalās*) and rhythms (*tālas*).

It is, therefore, most probable that the particular *sālaga-sūḍa* or *sālaga-dhruva-prabandha* is the precursor or forerunner of the classical *dhruvapadas* (or *dhrupada*) of the mediaeval and modern times. Baiju-bāorā, Gopāla-Nāyaka, Rājā Mān of Gwālior, Swāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, the disciple of Rāi Rāmānanda, Swāmī Haridās, Miāṅ Tānsen, and others undoubtedly cultured the

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41. Simhabhūpāla says : 'तेषु ध्रुवं लक्ष्यति * * । पूर्वं सट्टगेयखण्डद्वययुक्त उद्ग्राहः कर्तव्यः। ततोऽनन्तरं किञ्चिदूर्ध्वं खण्डमन्तराख्यं कर्तव्यम् ; एतत् त्रयमपि द्विरभ्यस्तं द्विर्गेयम्। ततोऽनन्तरं खण्डद्वययुक्त आभोगः, तस्य प्रथमं खण्डद्वयमेकधातु सट्टगेयखण्डद्वययुक्तम्, द्वितीयखण्डं ततोऽप्युच्चं गातव्यम्। असावाभोगस्तुल्यस्य नायकस्य नाम्ना युक्तः कार्यः। क्वचित् केषाञ्चिन्मतेऽयमुच्चैःखण्ड गातव्यः। उद्ग्राहस्य आद्यखण्डे च समाप्तिः स ध्रुव इति ज्ञेयः।

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dhruvapada that traditionally came down from the pre-Mataṅga period.

However, Thākur Narottama left Vṛndāvana in 1581-1582 A.D., accompanied by Śyāmānanda and Śrīnivāsa. At that time Kavirāj Kṛṣṇadāsa Goswāmī left his mortal coil (in 1582 A.D.). Narottama-dāsa returned to Khetari, in the district of Rājsāhī, and introduced the developed form of *rasa* or *līlā kīrtana*. He devised it on the pattern of the *prabandha*, *dhruvapada*. It was in the slow tempo (*vilamvita laya*), and was very majestic and colourful. Gaurāṅga-dāsa and Devīdāsa accompanied Narottam with *mṛḍaṅga* (*khola*), and Śrīdāsa and Gokuladāsa, with music. It is said that all of them were aged, and took training from Swarūpa-Dāmodara, the personal attache of Śrī Caitanya. Some are of opinion that they were trained under the guidance of Raghunāth-dāsa Goswāmī. The new and novel type of *rasa* or *līlā kīrtana*, introduced by Narottama-dāsa, was more systematic and serene. It was mainly based on the divine emotional sentiment and mood (*rasa* and *bhāva*), and so it was known as '*rasa-kīrtana*', and as its composition or theme was based on the divine sportive plays of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, it was also called '*līlā-kīrtana*'.

Thākur Narottama-dāsa was born at Khetari. Khetari was situated in the Gaḍerhāt subdivision, in the district of Rājsāhi. His father's name was Kṛṣṇānanda-dutt, and his mother

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was Nārāyanī Devī It is said that Kṛṣṇānanda-dutt was the zemindar of Gopālapur. Narottama took initiation from Lokanāth-Goswāmī, and became a devout Vaiṣṇava. When he was young, he left his hearth and home, and went to Vṛṇdāvana, for the critical study of the Vaiṣṇava literature. After coming back from Vṛṇdāvana, he began to live at Khetari, at the request of his uncle's son, Santosa-dutt. At that time he arranged a grand festival (*mahotsava*) for the Vaiṣṇavas, and thousands of the Vaiṣṇava savants assembled at Khetari, from different parts of Bengal, Behār and Orissā. Narottama introduced there his newly devised *kīrtana*, together with *gouracandrikā* i.e. songs in praise of the glory and greatness of Śrī Caitanya, who was considered, by the Vaiṣṇavas of that time, as the divine incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa together in one. Especially the Vaiṣṇava savants like Swarūpa-Goswāmī, Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja, Govinda-dāsa, and others developed this idea of '*antaḥ-kṛṣṇa*' (internally Śrī Kṛṣṇa) and '*vahirgaura*' (externally Gaura, i.e. Caitanya), upon the lines '*kṛṣṇa-varṇaṃ tviṣā-kṛṣṇaṃ*',[42] etc. of the *Bhāgavata* (11.5.29). Kavirāja-Goswāmī says in his *Caritāmṛta*,

तवे हसि तारे प्रभु देखाल स्वरूप ।
रसराज महाभाव दुइ एक रूप ॥[43]

42. कृष्णवर्णं त्विषाकृष्णं साङ्गोपाङ्गास्त्र-पार्षदम् ।
यज्ञैः संकीर्तन-प्रायैर्यजन्ति हि सुमेधसः ॥

43. Vide चैतन्यचरितामृत, मध्यलीला ८

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Rūpa-Goswāmī says in the *Kaḍcā* : '*Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-praṇaya-vikṛti* * * *rādhā-bhāva-dyuti-suvalitaṃ naumi kṛṣṇa-rūpaṃ*'[44] However, the *rasa* or *līlā kīrtana* of Narottama-dāsa had a style (*gāyana-śaili*) of its own, and it was known as '*garāṇahāti*' or '*gaḍerahāti*', having originated in the Gaḍerhāt *parganā*. But this style, being difficult and slow in tempo, was not properly appreciated by the general mass. So different styles gradually evolved, to suit the taste and temperament of the people, and they were *manoharasāhi*, *rāṇihāti* or *reṇeti*, *mandāriṇi*, and *jhāḍakhaṇḍī*. All these styles or schools, with different forms and compositions, were named likewise after the places of their origin. As for example, the style or school of *manoharasāhi* was so named as it evolved from the Manaharasāhi *parganā*, the style or school, *rāṇīhāti* or *reṇeti* had its origin in the Rāṇīhāti *parganā*, that of *mandāriṇi* originated in the Sarkāra-Mandāraṇa, and that of *jhāḍakhaṇḍī* had its origin in the district of Midnāpore. Some are of opinion that the schools, *garāṇahāti* or *gaḍerahāti*, *rāṇīhaṭi* or *reṇeti*, and *mandāriṇī* may be compared to those of *khāṇḍāravāṇī*, *dāgaravāṇī*, *laharavaṇī*, and *gvahāravāṇī* of the *dhruvapada gīti*, which had their origins from different places, during the time of the Emeror Ākbar. Some others compare those styles or schools of *kīrtana* with the four types

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44. राधाकृष्णप्रणयविकृति * * राधाभाव-द्युतिसुवलितम् नौमि कृष्णरूपम्।

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of classical music, *dhruvapada*, *kheyāl*, *thumri*, and *tappā*. All these were merely different conceptions from different angles of vision. Otherwise, all these different styles or schools (*gharaṇās*) were independent from one another. The different styles of *padāvalī-kīrtana* were divised by different Kīrtanīyās of talent, in different times. As for example, Thākur Narottama introduced the *garāṇahāti* or *gaḍerahāti* style, Vipradāsa Ghose, the *manoharasāhi*, Thakur Gokulānanda, the *raṇīhāti* or *reṇeti*, and Veṇidāsa, the *mandariṇī* respectively. The style or school of *jhāḍakhaṇḍī* was introduced by Kavīndra Gokula. This style is now out of practice, and the special features of those four schools are also not easily recognizable at present, for want of their proper knowledge and culture and application. It is said that those styles of *kīrtana* were presented with different time-units or *tālas*. As for example, 108 *tālas* were used in the *kīrtana* of the *garāṇahāti* style, 25 in *manoharasāhī*, 26 in *raṇihāti* or *reṇeti*, and 9 in *mandāriṇī*. The Manipurī style of *kīrtana* of Āssām owes its debt to Thākura Narottama, as Narottama went to different places of Āssām, to propagate his new style of *kīrtana*, together with the Vaiṣṇava religion. After Thākura Narottama, his worthy desciple Gaṅgā Nārāyaṇa Cakravurty also made similar tour round Assām and Manipur. The *kīrtana* of Manipur is presented with the dance-dramas, having divine

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plots with the sportive plays of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

It has already been said that *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal is the *nibaddha prabandha* type of classical music, as it consists of different music-parts (*dhātus*) and six limbs (*saḍaṅgas*), etc. In Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, we find that while he mentions about the *gīti* '*saṁkīrtana*', he says that it is a type of music, which should be presented with metre, rhythm, etc. He describes,

Yastveṣāṃ sāttvike bhāvaḥ karma
saṁkīrtanaṃ ca yat /
Tat-kāryaṃ gāna-yoge tu pramāṇaṃ
vidhi-saṁśrayaṃ //

* * * *

Chandaḥ-pramāṇa-saṁyuktaṃ divyānāṃ
gāna-miṣyate /
Stutyāśrayeṇa tat-kāryaṃ karma-
saṁkīrtanādapi //[45]

Therefore it is evident that the auspicious (*divya*) *gīti*, *dhruvā*, known as *saṁkīrtana*, was prevalent

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45. यच्चैषां सात्त्विको भावः कर्म सङ्कीर्तनं च यत् ।
तत्कार्यं गानयोगे तु प्रमाणं विधिसंश्रयम् ॥

* * * *

छन्दः प्रमाणसंयुक्तं दिव्यानां गानमिष्यते ।
स्तुत्याश्रयेण तत् कार्यं कर्मसंकीर्तनादपि ॥

—नाट्यशास्त्र

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even in the first-second century A.D., in the form of *sthuti-gāna*. The *dhruvās* were sacred like the post-Vedic *brahmagītis* or *aṅga-gītis* like *ṛk*, *gāthā*, *pāṇikā*, etc: '*jayāśīrvāda-yuktāni kāryā-ṇyetāni daivate, ṛg-gāthā-pāṇikā hyeṣāṃ voddhvyāstu prāmāṇataḥ*'.[46] During the time of Muni Bharata (second century A.D.), when the *nibaddha prabandha* type of *dhruvās* (dramatic or stage-songs) were sung with *jatirāgas*, different metres (*chandas*), rhythms (*tālas*), and tempi (*lāyas*) for sacred purpose, they were known as *saṁkīrtana* or *kīrtana*. This sacred type of music was probably revived with some new form and theme of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva, during the awakening of the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. Ghanaśyāma-Narahari, one of the great Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava savants and musicologists, says in his *Bhaktiratnākara* :

केह कहे निबद्ध-गीतेर सज्ञान्वय ।
प्रबन्ध, वस्तु, रूपक ए' प्रसिद्ध हय ॥
धातु-चतुष्टय आर षड़ङ्ग इहाय ।
इहले प्रकृष्ट-बद्ध प्रबन्ध कहय ॥

That is, a *prabandha* type of song is known by its four music-parts (*dhātus*) and six limbs *aṅgas*), whereas a *vastu* type of song consists of three music-parts and five limbs, and *rūpaka*

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46. यथाशीर्वादयुक्तानि कार्यानीतानि दैवते ।
ऋग्गाथापाणिका ह्येषां वोद्धव्यास्तु प्रमाणतः ॥
—नाट्यशास्त्र

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type is possessed of two music-parts and two limbs. Ghanaśyāma-Narahari says regarding the *dhātu*,

Prabandāvayavo dhātuḥ sa caturdhā prakīrtitaḥ /
Udgrāhaka-melāpaka-dhruvābhoga iti kramāt //[47]

That is, a *dhātu* is a part of song, and it is of four kinds, *udgrāhaka*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva*, and *ābhoga*. Narahari says that the Kirtanīyās (demostrators of the *kīrtana*) strictly observe the rules, as laid down by the treatises like *Gīta-prakāśa*, *Saṅgīta-pārijāta*, *Saṅgīta-śiromaṇi*, *Saṅgīta-ratnamālā*, *Vācaspati*, *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, etc. No one did venture to violate the *śāstric* rules and injunctions. The classical melodies (*rāgas*) and rhythms (*tālas*) were used in *kīrtana*, as they were strictly observed in *saṁkīrtana* in Bharata's time (second century A.D.). They are strictly observed also in the present system of Vaiṣṇava *padāvalī-kīrtana*.

Narahari-dāsa further says, regarding the *prabandha* type of song,

प्रबन्धेर धातु पञ्च[48] शास्त्रे ए निर्धार।
षड़ङ्ग प्रबन्धगीत सबेत्र प्रचार॥

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47. प्रबन्धावयवो धातुः स चतुर्धा प्रकीर्तितः।
उद्ग्राहक-मेलापकः-ध्रुवाभोग इति क्रमात्॥

48. Narahari says about five limbs (*pañca-dhātu*), and again he says somewhere about four *dhātus* (*dhātu-catuṣṭayaṃ*).

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स्वर विरुद पद तेनक पाट ताल।
एइ छय अङ्गे गीत परम रसाल॥
स्वर-सरिगमपधादिक निरूपय।
गुण-नामयुक्त मते विरुद कहय॥
पद-शब्द-वाचक प्रकार बहु इंथे।
तेता तेनादिक शब्द मङ्गल निमित्ते॥
पाट वाद्योद्भवाक्षर धाधा धिलङ्गादि।
ताल चच्चत्पुट यत्यादिक यथाविधि॥
ए' षड़ङ्ग प्राचीन आचार्य निरुपय।
वाक्य स्वर ताल तेना चारि केह कय॥

The six limbs of the *prabandha* type of a song are *svara* or notes, taken at their proper pitch, *viruda* or panegyric, *pada* or name of its object, *tenaka* or cadence of notes as a symbolic standard, *pāta* or the continuous imitation of sound, proceeding from percussion instruments and *tāla* or rhythm, expressed by beat. *Tālas* are *caccatputa*, *yat*, etc. Some musicologists are of opinion that a *prabandha* is possessed of four limbs (*aṅgas*), words, notes, rhythm, and cadence of notes. Śāraṅgadeva also says: '*prabando'ṅgāni ṣat, tasya svarasya virudaṃ, padaṃ, tenakaḥ pāta-tālau*'.[49] From Narahari-dāsa, we come to know that *padāvalī-kīrtana* consists of six limbs or *aṅgas* like *svara*, *viruda*, etc., as has been described before.

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49. प्रबन्धोऽङ्गानि षट्, तस्य स्वरस्य विरुदं पदम्, तेतकः पाटतालौ।
—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर, ४र्थ, प्रबन्धाध्यायः

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Again *padāvalī-kīrtana* was possessed of five *jātis*, composed of different limbs. Regarding these, Narahari mentions in his *Bhaktiratnākara* :

प्रबन्धे जाति पञ्च—मेदिनी नन्दिनी ।
दीपनी पावनी तारावली कहे मुनि ॥
षड़ङ्ग मेदिनी नाम पञ्चाङ्ग नन्दिनी ।
चारि अङ्ग दिपनी ए' त्रयाङ्ग पावनी ॥
अङ्गद्वय तारावली गीतविज्ञ कहे ।
इत्थे जान एकाङ्ग प्रबन्ध सिद्ध नहे ॥

Śāraṅgadeva also says regarding the *jātis* of the classical songs,

मेहिन्यथानन्दिनी स्याद्दीपनी भावनी तथा ।
तारावलीति पञ्च स्युः प्रबन्धानां तु जातयः ॥

Therefore, *kīrtana* belongs to *medinī* type, when it is composed of five limbs (*aṅgas*). It is recognized as *dīpanī*, when it consists of four limbs ; it is *pāvanī*, when possessed of three limbs ; it is called *tārāvalī*, when possessed of two limbs, and when *kīrtana* is composed of only one limb, it is recognized as the *prabandha*. In Śāraṅgadeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, *pāvanī* is known as *bhāvanī*.

Probably the *padāvalī-kīrtana* is included in the category of *tārāvalī* and *sama-dhruvā* type of the *prabandha gīti*, as distinct from *pāñcālī* or *pāñcālikā*, which is recognized as *viṣama-dhruvā* type of the *prabandha*. Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Mukherjee says in his *Padāvalī-paricaya* that one of the greatest

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exponent of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, late Avadhūta Bandopādhyāya was of opinion that *kīrtana* of Bengal was included in the *tārāvalī* and *samadhruvā* type of song. The *pāñcālī* type of songs are the *maṅgala-gānas* like *kṛṣṇamaṅgala*, *śivamaṅgala*, *caṇḍīmaṅgala*, *mansāmaṅgala*, etc. The *mangalagītis* of Bengal are also known as the *nibaddha* type of classical music. Śāraṅgadeva says in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* :

Vadanaṃ caccarī caryā paddhaḍī rāhaḍī tathā /
Veraśrī-maṅgalācāro dhavalo maṅgalastathā //[50]

This is, *caccarī* or *cāncara*, *caryā*, *māṅgala*, etc. were sometimes very favourite songs of Bengal. They were known as *niryukta* type of songs, possessed of different metres, melodies, rhythms, and tempi, whereas the *aniryukta* ones were like the *ālāpa* or *ālapti*, possessed of only melody (*rāga*), and tempo (*laya*). The *kīrtana*, being the *tārāvalī* and *samadhruvā* type of song, can be known as similar to the *caryā*, to some extent. The only difference between the *caryā* and the *kīrtana* lies in the fact that the former had some repititions of one or two stanzas, while the latter was sung, and are sung even these days, with the music-part (*dhātu*), *dhruva*, both by the main singer

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50. वदनं चचरी चर्या पद्धड़ी राहड़ी तथा ।
वीरश्रीर्मङ्गलाचारो धवली मङ्गलस्तथा ॥
Pārśvadeva had discussed these *prabandhas* in his *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*, before Sāraṅgadeva.

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(*mūla-gāyena*) and his party, in unison. In this respect, the method of singing the *maṅgala-gāna* seems different from the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, in some respects.

It has already been said that *padāvalī-kīrtana* is purely emotional (*bhāvātmakaṃ*) in its nature, and for this reason it is known as '*rasa-kīrtana*'. In truth, emotional sentiments and moods (*rasa* and *bhāva*) are the life-force of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal. It stirs the emotional depth of the musicians as well as of the listeners. The mystic Vaiṣṇava composers (*padakartās*) have used sixty-four aesthetic sentiments (*rasas*), dividing them into two main groups, *vipralambha* and *saṃbhoga*. Rūpa-Goswāmī, Kavi-karṇapura, and Pitāmvara-dāsa have said in their *Ujjalanilamaṇi* and *Bhakti-rasāyaṇa*, *Alaṁkāra-kaustubha*, and *Rasamañjarī* that *vipralambha* and *sambhoga* are the two modifications of the basic sentiment, *śṛṅgāra* or divine primal creative urge'. The *vipralambha* is again divided into four, *pūrvarāga*, *māna*, *premavicittya*, and *pravāsa*. The *sambhoga* is an enjoyment of the pure union of the lover and the beloved woman. It is also divided into four types, enjoyment in a short period (*saṁkṣipta-sambhoga*), mixed enjoyment (*saṁkīrṇa-sambhoga*), accomplished enjoyment (*saṁpanna-sambhoga*), and ripe enjoyment (*samṛddhi-sambhoga*). The four emotive feelings and their enjoyments are the manifestations of eight kinds of aesthetic sentiments, as described by Muni Bharata, in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Bharata says,

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Śṛṅgāra-hāsya-karuṇa-raudra-veera-bhayānakāḥ /
Vībhatsādbhuta-saṁjñau cetyaṣṭau nātye rasāḥ
smṛtāḥ //[51]

Besides *nātya*, Bharata says that emotional sentiments are applicable to *dhruvā* and *jātirāga gānas* : '*dhruvā-vidhāne kartavyā jātigāne prayatnataḥ, rasaṃ kāryamavasthāṃ ca* * *' (*NS*. 29.4). These *śāstric* rules are also applied to the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. It adopts eight main aesthetic sentiments, along with their eight sub-sentiments, resulting in sixty-four (8 × 8 = 64) ones. As for example,

(क) ॥ अभिसारिका ॥ (१) ज्योत्स्नाभिसारिका, (२) तामसाभिसारिका, (३) वर्षाभिसारिका, (४) दिवाभिसारिका, (५) कुञ्झटिकाभिसारिका, (६) तीर्थयात्राभिसारिका, (७) उन्मत्ताभिसारिका, (८) असमञ्जसाभिसारिका।

(ख) ॥ वासवसज्जा ॥ (१) मोहिनी, (२) जायतिका, (३) रोदिता, (४) मध्योक्तिका, (५) सुमिका, (६) चकिता, (७) सुरसा, (८) उद्देशा।

(ग) ॥ उत्कण्ठिता ॥ (१) दुर्मति, (२) विकला, (३) सर्व्वा (४) अचेतना, (५) सुखोत्कण्ठिता, (६) मुग्धा, (७) मुखरा, (८) निर्बन्धा।

(घ) ॥ विप्रलब्धा ॥ (१) विकला, (२) प्रेममत्ता, (३) क्लेशा, (४) विनीता, (५) निर्दया, (६) प्रखरा, (७) दूत्यादरा, (८) भीता।

(ङ) ॥ खण्डिता ॥ (१) निन्दा, (२) क्रोधा, (३) भयानका, (४) प्रगल्भा, (५) मध्या, (६) मुग्धा, (७) कम्पिता, (८) सन्तप्ता।

(च) ॥ कलहान्तरिता ॥ (१) आग्रहा, (२) मुग्धा, (३) धीरा, (४) अधीरा, (५) कुपिता, (६) समा, (७) मृदुला, (८) विधुरा।

(छ) ॥ प्रोषितभर्त्तृका ॥ (१) भावि, (२) भवन्, (३) भूता, (४) दशदशा, (५) दूत-संवाद, (६) विलाप, (७) सञ्जल्पिका, (८) भावोल्लसा।

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51. शृङ्गार-हास्य-करुण-रौद्र-वीर-भयानकाः।
बीभत्साद्भुतसंज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः॥
—नाट्यशास्त्र ६।१५

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(ञ) ॥ स्वाधीनभर्तृका ॥ (१) कीर्तना, (२) मानिनी, (३) सुगुप्ता, (४) मध्या, (५) समुत्सुका, (६) सीत्कारा, (७) अनुकूला, (८) अभिसन्धिता ।[52]

Again, five parts of the sub-limbs (*upāṅgas*) are used in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, and they are: (1) *kathā*, *dohā*, *āṅkhara*, *tuka* and *chūta*. (1) The *kathā* denotes *lakṣya* (words or composition —*sāhitya*) and *lakṣaṇa* (theory). Besides, it signifies questions and answers (*ukti* and *pratyukti*), connecting link between one piece of song and another, and expansion of meaning of the composition or speech. (2) *Dohā* means stanzas (two consecutive lines of a song), *tripadī*

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52. Śrī Rūpa-Goswāmī says in his *Ujjalanilamaṇi* about these 64 *rasas*, in connection with the *nāyikā-bheda*:

(क) यथाभिसारयते कान्तं स्वयं वाभिसरत्यपि ।
सा ज्यौत्स्नी तामसी यानयोग्यवेषाभिसारिका ॥

(ख) स्ववासकवशात् कान्ते समेष्यति निजं वपुः ।
सज्जीकरोति गेहञ्च या सा वासकसज्जिका ॥

(ग) अनागसि प्रियतमे चिरयत्युत्सुका तु या ।
विरहोत्कण्ठिता भाववेदिभिः सा समीरिता ॥

(घ) कृत्वा सङ्केतमग्रागे दैवाज्जीवितवल्लभे ।
व्यथमानान्तरा प्रोक्ता विप्रलब्धा मनीषिभिः ॥

(ङ) उल्लङ्घ्य समयं यस्याः प्रेयानन्योपभोगवान् ।
भोगलक्ष्माङ्कितः प्रातरागच्छेत् सा हि खण्डिता ॥

(च) या सखीनां पुरः पादपतितं वल्लभं रुषा ।
निरस्य पश्चात्तपति कलहान्तरिता हि सा ॥

(छ) दूरदेशं गते कान्ते भवेत् प्रोषितभर्तृका ।

* * *

(ञ) स्वायत्तासन्नदयिता भवेत् स्वाधीनभर्तृका ।
सलिलारण्यविक्रीड़ा-कुसुमावाचयादिकृत् ॥

—श्रीश्रीउज्ज्वलनीलमणि (नायिकाभेदप्रकरणम्) ७१-८१

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(three lines of a composition), *caupadī* (four lines) etc., and they are repeated by the singers. (3) *Āṅkhara* is a unique contribution to the *prdāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal. It seems similar to *tāna* of the Hindusthānī classical music, to some extent. *Āṅkhara* is an extempore composition. (4) *Tuka* is an ornamental part of a song, which the traditionally handed down from one community of singers to another. (5) *Chuta* is a part of a stanza of the *kīrtana*, i.e. when a portion of a song is present, instead of the entire portion, it is known as *chuta*. Besides them, *jhuṃurā* or *jhuṃrī* is also used as an *upāṅga* of the *kīrtana*. It is a rule or procedure to sing a song of union (*milana-gāna*) between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, after finishing the entire composition. But, if in any case, it is not possible to complete the *gourcandrikā* or the entire theme of the *kīrtana* (*pālā-gāna*), the singer shall represent *jhuṃrā* or *jhuṃrī* for the completion of the *kīrtana*.

In the *padāvalī-kīrtana* twelve mystic *tattvas* are used, and they are: (a) union of the divine couple (*yugala-rūpa*), (b) manifestation and enjoyment (*prakāśa* and *vilāsa*), (c) enjoyment of the emotional sentiment (*rasāsvādana*), (d) mutual adoration (*pārasparika bhajana*), (e) the Lord and the devotee (*Bhagavāna* and *Bhakta*), (f) ideal of the devotee (*sādhya-vastu*), (g) spiritual practice of the devotee (*sādhanā*), (h) *pūrva-rāga* and *anu-rāga*, (i) *abhisāra*, (j) *vāsakasajjā*, (k) divine union (*milana*) and the *tattva par*

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excellence, and (1) Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Besides, the intuitive perception of the divine couple, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are the central theme of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. And it should be remembered that this intuitive or spiritual perception of the divine couple is the realization of the inseparable relation (*abheda-samvandha*) between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Both are mutually realizing the infinite potency of love and bliss, and this mutual relation of love is the secret of the whole drama, enacted in the eternal land of Vṛndāvana. This realization is the aim and ideal of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. The philosphical idea of the *kīrtana* also lies in it. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are here conceived as one. Śrī Kṛṣṇa, being the ultimate Being, is possessed of *svarūpa-śakti*, *jīva-śakti* or *taṭastha-śakti*, and *māyā-śakti*. The *svarūpa-śakti* is the consummation of the divine attributes of existence (*sat*), consciousness (*cit*), and bliss (*ānanda*). The potency of these three attributes acts like three powers in the nature of God, which are known as *sandhanī* (the power of existence), *samvit* (the power of consciousness) and *hlādinī* (the power of bliss, which is of the nature of infinite love).[53] The *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism aims at the divine intuition and feeling of this highest *tattva*. This theological and philosophical ideas of

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53. Vide Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta: *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta University, 1946), pp. 143-144.

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the *kīrtana* developed on the doctrinal foundation of the *Upaniṣad*, *Pañcarātra*, *Purāṇa*, *Śrimat-bhāgavata*, and Bengal Buddhism, and *Sahajiyā* cults.

The composition (*sāhitya* or *pada*) of the *kīrtana* is deeply concerned with name, age, quality, beauty, grace, sweetness and lusture, and character (*guṇa*, *vayasa*, *rūpa*, *lāvanya*, *saundarya*, *abhirūpatā*, *mādhurya*, *mārdava*, *nāma*, *caritra*, and *anubhāva*), as they are the source of inspiration to the devotees. They intensify the love and devotion to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The hero (*nāyaka*) of the theme of the *kīrtana* is imagined in four different ways, and they are *dhīra-lalita dhīra-śānta*, *dhīroddhata*, and *dhirodātta*. Besides, Śrī Kṛṣṇa is conceived here in different ways (*rūpa-bheda*).

Like the divine hero (*nāyaka*), the divine heroine (*nāyikā*) of *padāvalī-kīrtana* is also conceived in different ways. She is mainly conceived as *svakīyā* and *parakīyā*. These two are again divided into many phases, *mudghā*, *madhyā*, *pragalbhā*, *dhīrā*, *adhīrā*, *dhīrādhīrā*, *dhīrā-pragalbhā*, *adhirā-pragalbhā*, and *dhīrādhīrā-pragalbhā*. *Parakīyā* has been recognized by the Vaiṣṇavas as the greatest love towards *parama-nāyaka*, Kṛṣṇa. Śrī Caitanya himself maintained the *parakīyā-tattva*. Some of the latter Vaiṣṇavas like Jīva-Goswāmī, and others did not accept this doctrine, as they said that *svakīyā par excellence* is the greatest *tattva*. But after Jīva Goswāmī, the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas mostly established the

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doctrine of *parakīya*, and this has afterwards been the central theme of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*.

Parakīyā is again divided into two, *kanyā* and *paroḍhā*. Dhanyā and other unmarried *Vṛja* maidens, who loved Śrī Kṛṣṇa, were *kanyā*, and the married women were known as *paroḍhā*. The *paroḍhā Gopīs* were again divided into three classes, *sādhanaparā*, *devī* and *nityapriyā*. The *sādhanaparā Gopīs* were divided into two, *yauthikī* and *ayauthikī*. The *yauthikī Gopīs* were Rādhā, Candrāvalī, Viśākhā, Lalitā, Śyāmā, Padmā, Tārā, Citrā, Dhaniṣṭhā, Bhadrā, Śaivyā, Gopāli, Pālikā, and others. But Rādhā was the greatest *nāyikā* among all the *nityapriyā Gopīs*. Rādhā or Rādhikā is known as *Vṛndāvaneśvarī*. The female attendants (*sakhīs*) of Rādhā were divided into five classes, and they were *sakhī*, *nityasakhī*, *priyasakhī*, *prāṇasakhī*, and *parama-preṣṭhā-sakhī*. Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja describes the real significances of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs, in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (*madhyalīlā*, 8th canto) as,

राधार स्वरूप कृष्ण-प्रेमकल्पलता ।
सखीगण हय तांर पल्लव पुष्प पाता ॥
कृष्णलीलामृते यदि लताके सिञ्चय ।
निज सेक हइते पल्लवादेर कोटि सुख हय ॥

This is also the philosophical conceptions of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, and the Sakhīs that are adopted in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. Kubjā is conceived as the *sādhāraṇī-nāyikā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The central attention

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of all the *nāyikās* and *sakhīs* was concentrated in bringing the complete union (*milana*) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

The love between the divine hero (*nāyaka*) and the divine heroine (*nāyikā*) manifests in different ways. Above all, the heroine, Rādhā is conceived as the greatest manifestation, or incarnation of divine love, beauty, and divinity in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. Śrī Jīva-Goswāmī describes Rādhā as the highest manifestation of love and devotion, in his celebrated book, *Ujjalanīlamaṇi*. The conceptions of the female attendants (*sakhīs*) and messengers (*dūti*) of Rādhā are also unique and original in the *kīrtana*.

Many of the Vaiṣṇava savants like Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja, Kavi-Karṇapura, Rādhāmohan Thākur, Ghanaśyāma-Naraharidāsa, and others accepted the *padāvalī-kīrtana* as *śāstric* and classical, in their books, *Govindalīlāmṛta*, *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campu*, *Padāmṛta-sindhu*, *Saṅgītasāra-saṁgraha*, *Bhakti-ratnākara*, *Gītacandrodaya*, etc. Rādhāmohan Thākur composed many contemplative compositions (*dhyānas*) of the *rāgas* of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, and he followed, in this matter, Rāṇā Kumbha's *Saṅgītarāja*, and other ancient Sanskrit treatises on music. Ghanaśyāma-Narahari says in his *Bhaktiratnākara*, the authoritative book of the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas :

अनिबद्ध निबद्ध गीतेर भेदद्वये ।
अनिबद्ध गीत गोकुलादि आलापये ॥

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अनिवद्ध गीते वर्णन्यास स्वरालाप ।
आलापे गोकुल कण्ठध्वनि नाशे ताप ।
आलापे गमक मन्द्र मध्य तार स्वरे ।
से आलाप शुनिते केवा धैर्य धरे ॥

From this, it is evident that *ālāpa* was used in different tempi, before the presentation of the original theme of *padāvalī-kīrtana*. It is said that *tumburā*, *rabāb*, *veeṇā*, and other stringed and musical instruments accompanied *kīrtana*. Jñānadāsa describes some of them in his *abhisāra-pada* :

आवेशे सखीर अङ्गे अङ्ग हेलाइया ।
पद-आध चले आर पड़े मुरछिया ॥
रवाव खमक वीणा सुमिल करिया ।
वृन्दावने प्रवेशिल जय जय दिया ॥

Though Jñānadāsa has not described it in connection with *padāvalī-kīrtana*, yet the stanzas suggest the use of musical instruments in the *Vaiṣṇava gītis*.

Some are of opinion that the structures of the *rāgas*, used in *kīrtana*, seem to be pure and original than those of the modern modified ones. But, though their ancient forms are obsolete now, yet they can be recognized by those, described in Kavi-Locana's *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* and Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa's *Hṛdaya-kautuka*, written in the sixteenth century A.D. As for example, *gurjarī* was previously recognized as the *rāga* of the *gaurī-saṁsthāna* or *gaurī-mela*, the tonal structure of

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which was similar to modern *bhairava* : 'sa *ri* ga ma pa *dha* ni'. *Vasanta* was known as the *rāga* of the *gaurī-saṁsthāna*, and its present tonal form is similar to that of *bhairava*. Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa describes *vasanta* as 'sa ma, sa ni sa, ni *dha* pa ma ga *ri* sa'. In this way, we can easily find out the tonal forms of all the *rāgas*, used in *padāvalī-kirtana*. These recognized forms of the *rāgas* were also used in Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*, and they have been discussed before. From the collections of the *padavalī-kirtana*, we find the following *rāgas* which were mostly used in *kīrtana : kāmoda, śrī, dhānasī* or *dhānaśrī, gāndhāra* or *gāndhārī, toḍī, maṇgala, vasanta, sūhai, bhātiyāri, rāmakiri* or *rāmakelī, vibhāsa, mallāra, kalyānī, māyūra* or *māyurī, pāhiḍā or pāhāḍī, gaurī, patamañjarī, gurjarī, tirothā-dhānaśrī, gauḍī, bhupālī, āhīri, vihāga, vihaṅgḍā, kedāra, bhairava, bhairavī, śubhagā, vibhāsa-lalita*, etc. We also find in the *pādavalīs* the names of *yathārāga* or *tathārāga, karuṇā* or *karuṇa-rāga, kau-rāga*, which were mostly prevalent in Bengal. But, in fact, *karuṇā* or *kuruṇa* is not a *rāga*, it is a kind of metre (*chanda*), and it has been mentioned in Locan's *Rāgataraṅginī* : '*yat padārdhe tu sa bhavet karuṇā-mālavā-bhidhaḥ*'.[54] The *rāga suhā* or *suhai* has been mentioned in Halāyudha-miśra's *Seka-śubhodayā*. The newly devised regional *rāga, tirotha* has been

54. यत् पदार्धे तु स भवेत् करुणा-मालवाभिधः ।

—रागतरङ्गिणी

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adopted form Tṛhut or Tīrhut. It is known by various names like *tirothā*, *tirotā*, *tirotiyā*, or *tṛhutiyā*. The *nepāli* has been adopted from Nepāl, and Nepāl was a centre of *Vrajabulī*, after the Sena Kings. The *rāga* '*śubhaga*' has been mentioned in Śubhaṅkara's *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, Narahari's *Saṅgītasāra-saṁgraha*, etc. The *māyūra* or *māyūrī* has been mentioned in the *Vṛhaddharma-purāṇa*, *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, etc. Some are of opinion that *yathā* or *tathā rāga* is the diminutive form of the ancient *jāti* or *jātirāga*. But this view is untenable, as the word '*yathā-rāga*' connotes the idea that the singers or musicologists have freedom to select any of the suitable *rāgas*.

The *tālas*, as used in *padāvalī-kīrtana* are numerous. More than two hundred *tālas* were used in *kīrtana*. The names of some of the tālas are : *yati*, *rūpaka*, *japa*, *vṛhatjapa*, *daśakuśī*, *chota-daśakuśī*, *vaḍa-daśkuśī*, *madhyama-daśakuśī*, *teota*, *jhampa* or *jhampā jayamaṅgala*, *duṭhukī*, *āḍā-duṭhukī*, *chota-duṭhukī*, *dāśapeḍe* or *dānspeḍe*, *maṇṭhaka*, *prati-maṇṭhaka*, *kandarpa*, *ekatālī*, *vaḍa-ekatālī*, *pata*, *madhura*, *śekhara*, *nanandana*, *dhaḍā*, *aṣṭha*, *ādi*, *vijayānanda*, *sama*, *candraśekhara*, *dhruva*, *lophā*, *nandana*, *utsāha*, etc. In every *tāla* there are *paraṇa*, *mātana*, etc.

It is said that 108 kinds of *tālas* were used in the *gaḍerhāti* school of *kīrtana*, and these have been mentioned in the *Śrī-Padāmṛta-mādhurī*, compiled by Late Navadvip Candra Vrajavāsī

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and Rāi Bāhādur Khagendra Nāth Mitra. These 108 kinds of *tālas* are mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit treatises on music. The 108 *tālas* are :

1. Vaḍa-daśakuśī ; 2. Viṣama-daśakuśī ; 3. Madhyama-daśakuśī ; 4. Chota-daśakuśī ; 5. Kātā-daśakuśī ; 6. Virāma-ādā-daśakuśī ; 7. Vaḍa-samatāla ; 8. Madhyama-samatāla ; 9. Yota-samatāla ; 10. Kātā-samatāla ; 11. Chota-samatāla ; 12. Mūrcchanā of samatāla ; 13. Pākachatā ; 14. Śruti ; 15. Pota ; 16. Dharaṇa ; 17. Āḍā-dharaṇa-tāla ; 18. Kātāpota-tāla ; 19. Karṇāta ; 20. Mālati ; 21. Chota-rūpaka ; 22. Madhyama-rūpaka ; 23. Vaḍa-rūpaka ; 24. Vaṣama-pañcatāla ; 25. Madhyama-pañcatāla ; 26. Pañcama-sowārī ; 27. Vaḍa-chutātāla ; 28. Viṣama-chutā ; 29. Āḍā-chutā ; 30. Chota-chutā ; 31. Vaḍa-teota ; 32. Madhyama-teota ; 33. Teorā ; 34. Tioti ; 35. Vaḍa-dharātala (dhaḍā ?) ; 36. Madhyama-dharā-tāla ; 37. Kātātāla ; 38. Vaḍa-ekatāla ; 39. Madhyama-ekatāla ; 40. Chota-ekatāla ; 41. Kātā-ekatāla ; 42. Vaḍa-śaśīśekhara ; 43. Madhyama-śaśīśekhara ; 44. Chota-śaśī-śekhara ; 45. Vaḍa-dānspāhiḍā ; 46. Madhyama-dānspāhiḍā ; 47. Chota-dānspāhiḍā ; 48 Āḍā-dānspāhiḍā ; 49. Vṛhat-japatāla ; 50. Madhyama-japatāla ; 51. Chota-japatāla ; 52. Āḍā-japatāla ; 53. Gañjala-tāla ; 54. Parimāṇa-tāla ; 55. Yati-tāla ; 56. Vaḍa-jhāmptāla : 57. Chota-jhāmptāla ; 58. Vaḍa-doṭhukī ;

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59. Madhyama-doṭhukī; 60. Chota-doṭhukī; 61. Āḍā-doṭhukī; 62. Vaḍa-veeravikrama; 63. Chota-veeravikrama; 64. Vaḍa-āḍatāla; 65. Chota-āḍatāla; 66. Vaḍa-kāvālī; 67. Chota-kāvālī; 68. Dhruvatāla; 69. Nataśekhara-tāla; 70. Nandana-tāla; 71. Cañcuputa-tāla; 72. Maṇṭhaka-tāla; 73. Vaḍa-dhāmāli; 74. Madhyama-dhāmāli; 75. Chota-dhāmāli; 76. Niskāraka (Nis-sāruka ?)-tāla; 77. Candra-śekhara-tāla; 78. Kandarpa-tāla; 79. Prati-cañcuputa-tāla; 80. Campaka-tāla; 81. Vadasi-(Aṣta-tāla 32 cāpaḍa); 82. Triputi-tāla; 83. Brahma-tāla; 84. Rudra-tāla; 85. Nata-nārāyaṇa-tāla; 86. Vijayānanda-tāla; 87. Thumri; 88. Lophā; 89. Gamakatāla; 90. Gargatāla; 91. Daśamakṣara-tāla; 92. Gopālatāla (used in *Rāsa-nṛtta* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa); 93. Viṣama-saṅkata-tāla (used in *nṛtta* of Śrī Rādhā); 94. Nṛttatāla (of Lalitā); 95. Nṛtta-tāla (of Viśākhā); 96. Nṛtta-tāla (of Campaka-latā); 97. Vāndhavatāla (in the *nṛtta* of Tungavidyā); 98. Jhamapaka-tāla (in the *nṛtta* of Indurekhā); 99. Mandasmita-tāla (in the *nṛtta* of Sucitrā); 100. Vāndi-tāla (in the *nṛtta* of Raṅgadevī); 101. Chakkā-tāla (in the *nṛtta* of Sudevī); 102. Vikata-tāla (in the dance of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa); 103. Nṛtta-tāla (of the Gopīs in the Rāsamaṇḍala); 104. Śaṅkaratāla (of Nātarāja-Mahādeva); 105. Lāsya-tāla (of Pārvāti); 106. Jhumura-tāla; 107. Khemtā (or Kāhārvā); 108. Jhuj-jhuti-tāla.

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Among them some of their time-units or *mātrās* may be mentioned as,

(1) *chotadaśakośi* is of 7 *mātrās*, *madhyama-daśakośi* is of $7 \times 2 = 14$ *mātrās*, and *vaḍa-daśakośi* is of $7 \times 2 \times 2 = 28$ *mātrās*; (2) *Teoti* is of 7 *mātrās*, and (3) *Teota* is of $7 \times 2 = 14$ *mātrās*; (4) *chota-lophā* is of 6 *mātrās*, (5) *lophā* is of 6 *mātrās*, (6) *vaḍa-lophā* is of $6 \times 2 = 12$ *mātrās*; (7) *doṭhuki* is of 14 *mātrās*, and (8) *chota-ḍoṭhuki* is of 14 *mātrās*, (9) *chota-dusapyāri* is of 4 *mātrās*, (10) *dāsapyāri* is of $4 \times 2 = 8$ *mātrās*; (11) *ekatāli* is of 14 *mātrās*; (12) *Jhāmptāla* is of 10 *mātrās*; (13) *dharā* or *dhaḍā* is of 16 *mātrās*; (14) *chota-rūpaka* is of 6 *mātrās*; (15) *vaḍa-rūpaka* is of $6 \times 2 = 12$ *mātrās*; (16) *chota-ekatāli* is of 14 *mātrās*, and (17) *ekatāli* is of 14 *mātrās*.

In Śubaṅkara's *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* 101 *tālas* have been mentioned : 'एकाधिक शते ताले षष्टिर्मुख्य-ताला इमे'। Śubhaṅkara says that 60 out of 101 *tālas* are prominent. Śāraṅgadeva describes 120 *deśī-tālas* in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (6th chapter). Ghanaśyāma Narahari-dāsa follows *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, and says :

तालं चच्चत्पुट-चाचपुटादि-प्रधानम्।
एकाधिक-शत-तालं सर्वत्र प्रमाणम्॥

Now, let us illustrate some portion of a *pada-kīrtana*, from Śrī Haridāsa Kar's *Kīrtana-svaralipi* (Vol. I). The author of the composition (*pada*) is Govinda-dāsa. The *tāla*

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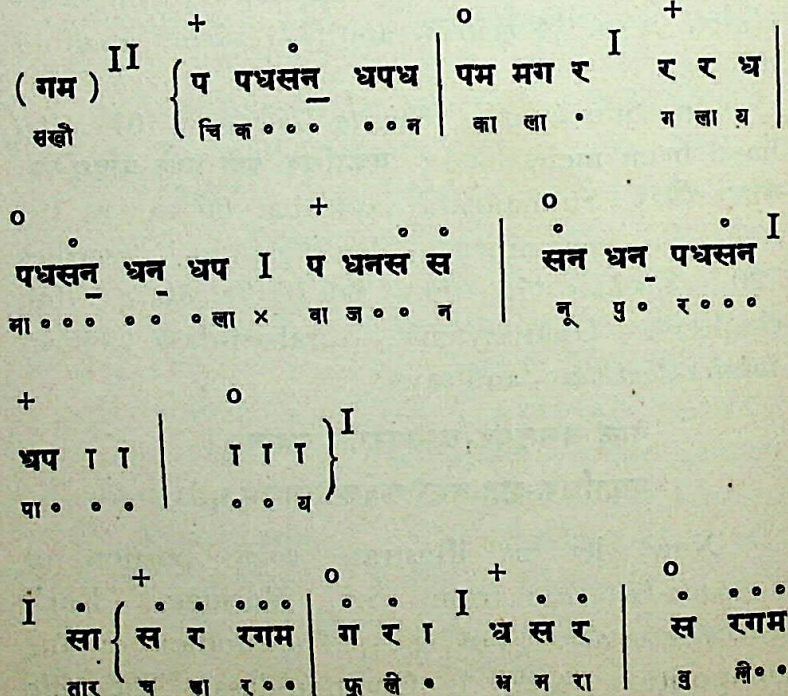
used has been *lophā*, consisting of 6 *mātrās* (+ o o / o o o). The song, along with the notation, runs thus,

(सखी) चिकन काला गलाय माला
वाजन नूपुर पाय।
(तार) चूड़ार फुले भ्रमरा बुले
तेरछ नयने चाय॥
कालिन्दी-कुले कि पेखनु सखी
छाड़िया नागर काण।
घर मो याइते नारिनु सखी
आकुल करिल प्राण॥ etc.



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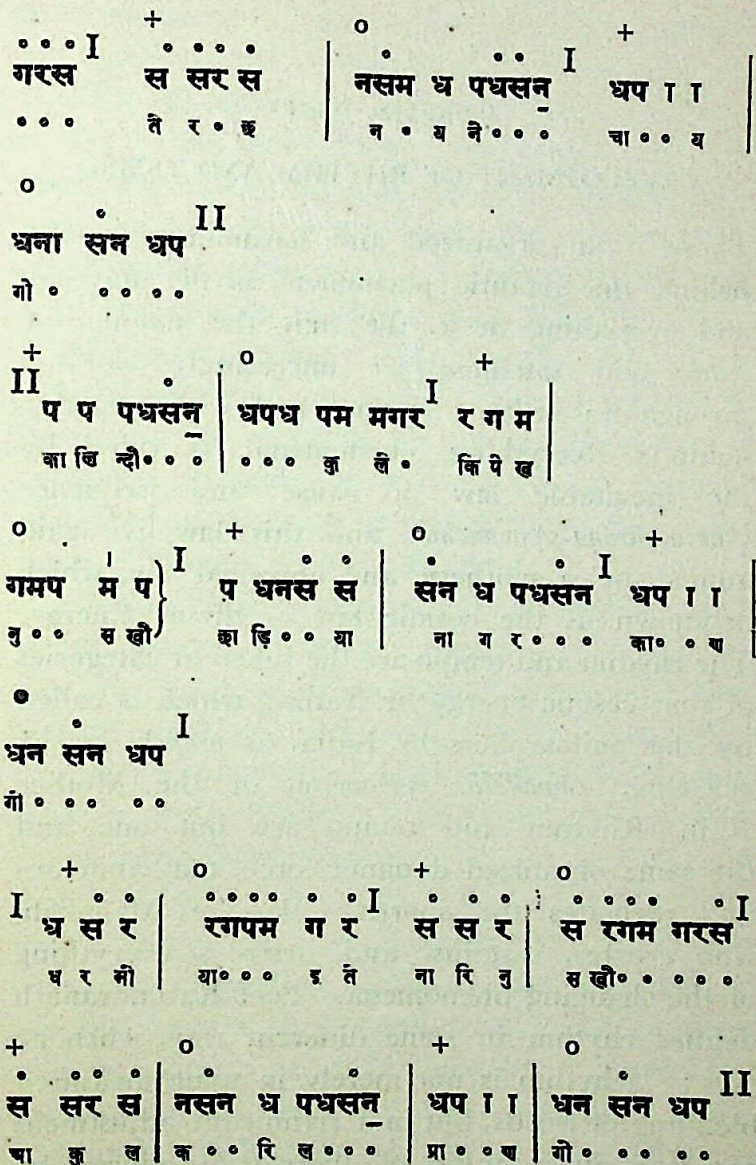

—etc.

N.B. *Niṣāda* and *madhyama* are sometimes used as flat (*komala*).

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Chapter Nine

DEVELOPMENT OF RHYTHM AND TEMPO

There is an organized and harmonized system behind the gigantic phenomena of the universe, and everything in it, the sun, the moon, the stars, and satellites are unceasingly working through an ordered system, and with a motive behind. Everything phenomenal is ruled by the inevitable law of cause and sequence (*kārya-kāraṇa-samvandha*), and this law is again guided by a synthetic and universal law, which is known as the cosmic law or divine Energy. The rhythm and tempo are the inherent categories of that cosmic energy or Nature, which is called by the philosophers of India, as *prakṛti*, *prajñā*, *kundalinī*, *kāmakalā*. *mahāmāyā*, or the Mother Kālī. Rhythm and tempo are but one and the same organized dynamic force, that animates and regulates the sportive play of Mahākālī, who creates, sustains, and destroys everything of the changing phenomena. Poet Rabindranāth defines rhythm in some different way, when he says : 'Rhythm is not merely in some measured blending of words, but in a significant adjustment of ideas, in a music of thought produced by a subtle principle of distribution, which is not primarily logical but evidential'. 'In perfect rhythm', he further states, 'the art-form becomes

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like the stars which in their seeming stillness are never still, like a motionless flame that is nothing but movement. A great picture is always speaking, but news from a newspaper, even of some tragic happening, is still-born. Some news may be a mere commonplace in the obscurity of a jonrnal; but give it a proper rhythm and it will never cease to shine. That is art'.

However, '*rhythm*' connotes the idea of an ordered and at the same time a measured motion or development that gives an idea of a complete harmonious restriction or system, whereas 'tempo' connotes that of time-unit, in the sense of pace or duration of speed.

But how the conceptions of rhythm and tempo came into being? Some are of opinion that in the antique primitive days men and women used to sing and dance irregularly, clapping their hands, moving their feets, and shaking their heads or limbs of the bodies. Their irregular movements of the hands, legs and heads or limbs of the bodies were gradually regulated and balanced, with senses of restriction of pace and speed, and they at last gave rise to concrete ideas of rhythm and tempo. In Sanskrit, these are known as '*chanda*' and '*laya*'. Both have their common origin or basic ground in space and time, which is known as the prime factor of creation i.e. *projection* of the world-appearance. Sammuel Alexander calls this ground as space-time, and not space and time, and space-time

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is the matrix or substratum of the primal norm of the *projection*. It is said in the Ṛgveda that there was no vibration or movement in the beginning (*'tadejati tannaijati'* * *), and eternal calmness reigned supreme with unbroken silence. Gradually movement came in the form of rhythmic vibrations. The vibrations were organized and balanced, and the manifold creation or *projection* was designed in a systematic form, which may be called the *'rhythm'*, The word *'tapaḥ'* of the *Upaniṣad* was no other than the heat-energy or will-power of the divine primordial Energy. Potential divine Energy or Iśvara was alone before the *projection* of the phenomenon, and He willed to be *many* (*'eko'haṃ vahu syām'*), and that *will* is the cause of the manifestation. The world of appearance came into being in the form of rhythm. That rhythm was continuous and eternal, and the sun, moon, stars, and all other satellites of the solar system are also observing that rhythmic movement.

Now, how that rhythm came into being in the field of music? Prof. Scholes says that rhythm is not something, imposed on music. Whether there be words or not, the rhythm is inherent in music. It is not only its legs, but its life, and that life, like ours, is often subtle and complex. Rhythm also plays the rôle of life-force in literature. Rhythm pertains to the time side of music, as distinct from the pitch side, and it manifests in beats, accent,

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measures or bars, grouping of notes into beats, grouping of beats into measures, grouping of measures into phrases, and so forth. Prof. Scholes is of opinion that in rhythm, the sense of accuracy and judgment is necessary to arrange and combine the notes or series of notes, with its regular and periodic time-measures or *tālas*. It is also necessary for rise and fall of the intervals of notes of the melody in music.

In Vedic music, rhythm was observed with the help of metres (*chanda*) in the composition or *sāhitya*. Tunes were added to the *ṛcs* or stanzas, and the *ṛcs* were constituted out of the letters, arranged in different metres. The *ṛc*-stanzas, with tunes, were the *sāmagānas*. Sāyaṇa says : '*sāma-śabda-vācyasya gānasya svarūpa-mṛgakṣareṣu kruṣṭādibhih saptabhiḥ*' etc.[1] In the *Ṛk-bhāṣyabhūmikā*, three kinds of *stobhas* are mentioned, and they are *varṇa-stobha*, *pada-stobha*, and *vākhya-stobha*. *Gāthās* were prevalent in the Vedic period. *Gāthās* were the prescribed *mantrams* or verses : '*vihitā mantra-viśeṣā gāthāḥ*'.[2] Both in the *stotra or gāthāgāna* and *sāmagāna* rhythm and tempo were used to regulate the letters and tunes of the composition of music. The *Brāhmaṇa* literature states : '*noccairgeyaṃ na valavad geyamiti rathantara-dharmaḥ. Tasmādubhaya-*

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1. सामशब्दवाच्यस्य गानस्य स्वरूपस्वगक्षरेषु ऋष्टादिभिः सप्तभिः * * ।

2. विहिता मन्त्रविशेषा गाथाः ।

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dharmā vyavatiṣṭhante iti'.[3] The *Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa* states that the *sāmans* were possessed of stanzas or verses, constructed out of the metres like *vṛhatī*, *jagatī*, *gāyatrī*, *triṣtubha*, etc. As these metres were balanced by tones and tunes, they were known as the *sāmans*.

In the *Ṛk-prātīśākhya*, syllables or *varṇas* are known as the sound or *svara*. The sound or *svara* has been divided into different time-units like *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta*. The *hrasva* sound lasts for only one *mātrā* or one unit of time, the *dīrgha*, for two *mātrās* or two units of time, and the *pluta*, for three *matrās* or three units of time. The sound or *svara* is also known as the letter or *akṣara* : *'svaro'kṣaramityuktaṃ'*.[4] For this reason, the authors of the *Prātiśākhyas* designate the register notes (*sthāna-svaras*), *udatta anudātta* and *svarita* as letters : *'udāttascānudatta-śca svaritaśca samkeṣpataḥ svarāstrayo veditavyāḥ'*.[5] In the Vedic literature, these are also known as the notes. Śaunaka says in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* that all the musical notes, both *vaidika* and *laukika*, were represented in three different ways, bass, circumflex, and acute, i.e., *mandra*, *madhya*, and *tāra*. Three different modes were adopted for three kinds of pronunciation, and they were slow, medium and fast, i.e.

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3. नोच्चैर्गेयं न वलवद् गेयमिति रथन्तर धर्मः। तस्मादुभयधर्मा व्यवतिष्ठन्ते इति।

4. स्वरोऽक्षरमित्युक्तम्।

5, उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च संक्षेपतः स्वरास्त्रयो वेदितव्याः।

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vilambita, *madhya*, and *druta*. The 48th aphorism of the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* runs thus: '*mātrā-viśeṣaḥ prativṛtyupaiti*'.[6] That is, in every *vṛtta* the number of *mātrā* is increased. The *mātrā* is a measuring unit, which connotes the idea of division of time or *kṣaṇa-bheda*. The old Sanskrit verses of musical pieces were of two kinds, *varṇa-vṛtta* and *mātrā-vṛtta*, i.e., one was determined by the syllable-unit, and other by time-unit. Both these units were known as *chanda* and *laya*, i.e. rhythm and tempo.

Śaunaka deals with the topics of *chanda*, in connection with the correct reading of the Vedas. They were *gāyatrī*, *uṣṇika*, *anuṣṭupa*, *vṛhatī*, *paṅkti*, *triṣṭupa*, and *jagatī*. Besides them, there were other metres like *atijagatī*, *śakkarī*, *sātipurvā*, *dhṛti*, *atidhṛti*, *prakṛti*, *ākṛti*, *nikṛti*, and *saṁkṛti*, etc. Siṁhabhupāla says that these metres or *chandas* were used in the *sāmagāna* and Vedic recitations.[7] In the *Ṛk-prātiśakhya*, we find the mention of the *mātrās* or measuring units of time, and they were similar to the tonalities and pitch-values of the sounds of the birds and animals: '*cāṣastu vadate mātrāṃ dvi-mātrāṃ vāyaso'bravīt*', etc.[8] Sometimes the letters of the Vedic metres used to play the rôle of

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6. मात्राविशेषः प्रतिवृत्युपैति ।

7. Vide the commentary '*Sudhākara*' by Siṁhabhupāla.

8. चाषस्तु वदते मात्राम् द्विमात्राम् वायसोऽब्रवीत्, etc.

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mātrās or time-beats, and those *mātrās* or time-beats were accompanied by the recitation or pronunciation of the verses of the *sāmans*. Five kinds of accents were used in the *sāman*-chants, and Dr. Felber says that they were : (1) stress on accentuation ; (2) the interval, its arrangement, and choice ; (3) the intensity of voice ; (4) enrichment through ornamentation ; and (5) the mutual tone-ratio between the different musical pitches. Musical pitches were lowered or heightened or balanced as the notes in the verses used to signify. The numbers upon the words of the verses used to indicate temper and tensity of the sounds like low, medium and high. Some are of opinion that the figures upon the words of the verses were indications of the *mūrcchanās* or ascending-descending notes of the *sāmans*. Sometimes the numbers used to indicate the downward series of tones. The metrical relations of the verses or *sāmans* were manifested in the forms of rhythm as well as tempo.

The word 'tempo' or *laya* simultaneously indicates the idea of time-beats or *tāla*, as one is interlinked with or counterpart of the other. In fact, the tempo is realized in the continuity and different cadences or measured movements of the time-beats or *tāla*. Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century) says that music, both vocal and instrumental, drumming and dancing are based on time-measure or *tāla* : '*gītaṃ vādyaṃ*

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tathā nṛttaṃ yatastāle pratiṣṭhitaṃ'.[9] In the age of the great epics, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Harivaṁśa*, the artists and musicologists were fully acquainted with different accents, letters, *mātrās* and *tālas* : *'kalā-mātrā-viśeṣajñā'*, etc.[10] The compilor of the *Mahābhārata*, while explaining the process of beating of the time, says : *'pāṇi-tāla-satālaiśca śamyā-tālāiḥ samaistathā'*.[11] From this it is evident that time was strictly maintained with the help of palms. The word *'tāla'* connotes the idea of measure of the specified time. Siṁhabhupāla clarifies it by saying : *'gītādeḥ mitir-māṇaṃ vidadat kurvan kālaḥ tāla ityuchyate'*.[12] Time or *kāla* is the temporal unit or *tāla*. The time also presupposes the idea of space i.e. *deśa*. The greatest scientist Einstein admits the co-relation of time and space in his *Theory of Relativity*. He says like the English philosopher Alexander that Space-Time is the primal stuff, of which all the pehnomenal things are made, though space is three dimensional, and time is one dimensional. As time cannot be conceived without space, so *kāla* or *tāla* cannot be thought of as separate from *deśa*, because time is extended to the space, and space bears its existence in

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9. गीतं वाद्यं तथा नृत्यं यतस्ताले प्रतिष्ठितम्।
10. कलामात्राविशेषज्ञा।
11. पाणितालः सतालैश्च शम्यातालैः समैस्तथा।
12. गीतादेः मितिर्माणं विदधत् कुर्वण् कालः ताल इत्युच्यते।

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time. It has already been said that in Indian philosophy, time has been conceived as *Mahākāla*, who transcends all kinds of changes or movements. He assumes the aspect of changing time as *Kāli*, the Divine Energy. But the change has its ground upon the changelessness; the dynamic Mother *Kāli* dances upon the static breast of the *Parama-Śiva*. So the quantum of time has been conceived for the practical use of the phenomenal world: '*mātrā-kalā-kriyā-bhūmi*',[13] etc. Though the idealist philosophers consider time as an inherent category of the mind, yet they admit its objective manifestation. Sir Arthur Eddington says that our 'knowledge of space-relations is indirect, like nearly all our knowledge of the external world—a matter of inference and interpretation of the impressions which reach us through our sense-organs. We have similar indirect knowledge of the time-relations, existing between the events in the world outside us; but in addition we have direct experience of the time-relations that we ourselves are traversing —a knowledge of time, not coming through external sense-organs, but taking a short cut into our consciousness. When I close my eyes and retreat into my inner mind, I feel myself *enduring*, I do not feel myself *extensive*. It is this feeling of time as affecting ourselves

13. मात्रा-कला क्रिया-भूमि।

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and not merely as existing in the relations of external events which is so peculiarly characteristic of it; space on the other hand is always appreciated as something external'. Further he says elsewhere that whatever 'may be time *de jure*, the Astronomer Royal's time is time *de facto*. His time permeates every corner of physics. It stands in no need of logical defence; it is in the much stronger position of a vested interest. It has been woven into the structure of the classical physical scheme' (vide *The Nature of the Physical World*). In music, time has been considered as real, and though it has been recognized as eternal, yet it has been divided into minute units, as *kalā*, *kāṣṭhā* for practical use. The authors on music have made use of those units for the measured and well-balanced rendering of tones and tunes.

Muni Bharata (second century A.D.) deals with the problem of time-units in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, in connection with the dramatic music (*nāṭya-gīti*), *gāndharva* or *dhruvā*. He says that he, who is devoid of the sense of *tāla*, can neither be called a singer nor a drummer, because the art of drama is based on timing or *tāla*. Now, what do we mean by a *tāla*? Bharata says that *tāla* is a definite measure of time, and *gāna* or music rests on *tāla*: '*gānaṃ tālena dhāryate*?[14] The means and materials of *tāla*

14. गानं तालेन धार्यते।

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are *yati*, *pāṇi*, and *laya* : '*aṅga-bhūtā hi tālasya yati-pāṇi-layāḥ smṛtāḥ*'.[15] The *laya* or tempo means the difference of one unit of time (*kalā*) from another : '*kalā-kālāntara-kṛtaṃ sa layo nāma sanjñitaṃ*'[16] The *laya* or tempo is divided into fast, medium and slow speeds, i.e. *druta*, *madhya*, and *vilamvita*. The determining principle of notes and timing (*svara* and *tāla*) is *pada*. The *pada* is composed of letters (*akṣaras*), and it can be said to be the verse (*sāhitya*) of music.

The rhythm and tempo have elaborately been discussed by Bharata in the 29th chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and by Śāraṅgadeva in the 6th chapter of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Bharata mentions the names of the *tālas*, as *āvāpa*, *niṣkrāma*, *vikṣepa*, *praveśaka*, *śamyā*, *sannipāta*, *parivarta*, etc. He divides the *tāla* into two main heads, beat without sound, and beat with sound, i.e. *ni'śabda* and *sa-śabda* (निःशब्द and सशब्द). The *tālas* like *āvāpa*, *niṣkrāma*, *vikṣepa*, and *praveśaka* are known as beats without sound i.e. *ni'śabda*, while *dhruva*, *sannipāta* etc. as *sa-śabda-vādya*. The *tālas* are strictly measured by *laya* or tempo. Bharata says that *laya* or tempo is determined by the speeds like slow, medium, and fast, i.e. *vilamvita*, *madhya*, and *druta*. Or it can be said that the forms of speed in time-measure or *tāla* are

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15. अङ्गभूता हि तालस्य यति-पाणि-लयाः स्मृताः ।
16. कला-कालान्तरकृतं स लयो नाम संज्ञितम् ।

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known as *laya* or tempo. Simhabhupāla clarifies the passage by saying: '*taiḥ mitā paricchinaḥ kālastāla ityuchyate*'.[17] Śāraṅgadeva divides *tāla* into *mārga* and *deśī*. The movements or beats of the *mārga-tāla* have already been explained. He calls the beat without sound (निःशब्द) as *kalā*, and *kalā* is divided into *tālas* like *āvāpā*, etc. The *mātrā* is also known as *kalā*. The *kalā* is of three kinds, *citra*, *vārtika*, and *dakṣiṇa*. Some admit *dhruva* as the fourth *kalā*. *Kalā*, *kāṣṭhā*, *nimeṣa*, and other time-units are called as *tāla-kalā*. Like *vidārī* or different units of melody or tune, *yati* and *prakaraṇa* are included in the category of *tāla*. But, strictly speaking, *yati* is a kind of method of application of *laya* or tempo. It is of three kinds, *samā*, *srotogatā* and *gopucchā*. (a) The *samā-yati* possesses three units of tempo, i.e. one in the beginning, one in the middle, and the last one in the end. (b) The *srotogatā* too contains three units of tempo, the first one is slow or *vilamvita*, the middle one is medium and the last one is fast or *druta*. (c) The *gopucchā-yati* consists of three units of tempo, and in the beginning of the *gīti* or song, the tempo is fast, in the middle it is medium and in the end it is slow. Some are of opinion that in *gopucchā*, the first tempo is fast or *druta*, the middle

17. तैः मिता परिच्छिन्नः कालस्ताल इत्युच्यते।

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one is slow or *vilamvita*, and the last one is also slow or *vilamvita*.

Śāraṅgadeva says that the *śuddha jātis* or *jatirāga-gānas* like *dhruvās*, and classical regional *gītis* like *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, etc. were practised with different kinds of *tālas*. These *tālas* were composed of different units of time-beats (*kalās* or *mārgas*). The *gītis* or songs were also followed by *vṛttis* and *gatis*. The presentations of those *gītis* differed with the alteration of tempo or *laya*. It has already been said that not only Śāraṅgadeva, but all the later musicologists have also divided the *tāla* into two main heads, *mārga* and *deśī*. The *mārga tālas* are *dhruva*, *citra*, *vārtika*, *dakṣiṇa* etc. They have mentioned another two kinds of *mārga tāla* like *caturasra* and *tryasra* (चतुःरस्र and त्रास्र), which are known as *caccatputa* and *cācaputa*. All these *tālas* are represented in three different modes, slow, medium and fast, i.e. *vilamvita*, *madhya*, and *druta*. They are also determined by *yatis* like *samā*, *srotogatā* and *gopucchā*. A *yati* is no other than a method of application of tempo or *laya* : '*laya-pravṛtti-niyamo yatiḥ*'.[18] The *mārga tālas* are composed of *grahas* like *sama*, *atīta*, and *anāgata*. The word '*graha*' connotes the idea of *gati* or speed. The *grahas*, *sama*, etc. are also known as *samapāṇi*, *avapāṇi*, and *uparipāṇi*. These *grahas*

18. लय-प्रवृत्ति-नियमो यतिः।

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are determined by the tempi like *vilamvita*, *madhya* and *druta*.

Śāraṅgadeva and his followers are of opinion that the *deśi-tālas* are 120 in number : '*viṁśatya-bhyadhikaṃ śataṃ*'. Others admit of 224, and some of 108 *deśi-tālas*. The *deśi-tālas* are *ādi*, *dvitīyaka*, *tṛtiya*, *caturthaka*, *pañcama*, *darpaṇa*, *ratilīla*, *siṁha-līla*, *caturmukha*, *catustāla*, *yati*, *tribhaṅgī*, *rāja-vidyādhara*, *śrīkīrti*, *karaṇayati*, *lalitā*, etc. The mode, nature and characteristics of the *tālas* were determined by different *merus* like *guru-meru*, *druta-meru*, *pluta-meru*, *samyoga-meru*, etc. Besides, the *prastāras* or *khaṇḍa-prastaras* were used for their detailed classification. The modern *tālas* of both Hindusthānī and Carnatic systems have evolved from the ancient *śāstric tālas*. The modern *tālas* of Hindusthānī system are *kāwālī*, *āddhā-kāwālī*, *ḍhimā*, *patatāla*, *samapadī-yat*, *kārphā* or *chepkā*, *thumri*, *āḍāṭhekā*, *madhya-māna*, *ekatāla*, *khemṭā*, *bhartaṅga*, *sādrā*, *āḍā-khemṭā*, *khayrā*, *chautāla*, *āḍā-chāutalā*, *jhāmptāla*, *sūlatāla* or *surphāṅk*, *yat*, *dhāmāra*, *pestā*, *theorā*, *rūpaka*, *rūpakḍā*, *pañcam-soyārī*, *phordosta*, *jhampaka*, *veer-pañca*, etc. Besides them, we find also *rudratāla*, *brahmatāla*, *brahmayoga*, *lakṣmitāla*, *mohanatāla*, *śaktitāla*, *gaṇḍakītāla*, *rāsatāla*, *śaṅkaratāla*, *karāla-mañca*, *dobāhāra*, *khāmsā*, etc. Some of the rhythmical patterns of *tālas* can be illustrated thus,

1. Tritāla : 4+4+4+4=16.
2. Cautāla : 2+2+2+2+2+2=12.

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3. (a) Dhāmāra : 3+2+2+3+2+2=14.
   (b) do : 5+2+3+4=14.
   =(1+2+3+4+5/6+7/
   8+9+10/11+12+13+14)
4. Āḍā-cautāla : 2+2+2+2+2+2+2=14.
5. Jhāmptāla : 2+3+2+3=10.
6. Sūlatāla : 2+2+2+2+2=10.
7. Dīpacandī : 3+4+3+4=14.
8. Jhumrā : 3+4+3+4=14.
9. Tilavāḍā : 4+4+4+4=16,
10. Ekatāla : (a) 2+2+2+2+2+2+2=12.
    (b) 3+3+3+3=12.
11. Tīvrā : 3+2+2=7.
12. Dādrā : 3+3=6.
13. Rūpaka : 3+2+2=7.
14. Gajajhampā : 4+4+4+3=15.
15. Śikharatāla : 6+6+2+3=17.
16. Mattatāla : 2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2=18.
17. Teorā : 3+2+2=7.
18. Pañcamasowārī : 3+3+4+4+4+4+4+4=30 (with 5 strokes).
19. Brahmatāla : 2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2=28 (10 strokes).

Paṇḍit Kāśīnāth Appaya-Tulsī has tried to trace some similarity between the modern *tālas* and the ancient ones, in his *Abhinava-tālamañjarī*. As for example, he compares *āḍā-cautāla* with *catustāla*, as described by Śāraṅgadeva in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Appaya-Tulsī says: 'रत्नाकर इतिोक्ति च यथाभिध्यश्चतुस्तालक:' । Śāraṅgadeva

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says that *catustāla* consists of 1 *guru* + 3 *druta* = 3½ *mātrās*: 'चतुस्तालो गुरोः परे त्रयो द्रुताः इति'। *Catustāla* and *āḍā-cautāla* may be compared with *daśa-kuśī*, as used in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, to some extent. Regarding *jhumrā*, Appaya-Tulsī says: 'ग्रन्थे रत्नाकरेऽसौ सुमतिभिरुदितोस्त्यन्तव क्रोड़सङ्गः', i.e. the ancient name of *jhumrā* is *krīḍasaṅga*. *Jhumrā* is of 14 *mātrās*, and it is also known as *teota*, Some are of opinion that *teota* has been derived from *trivata*, which is again derived from *triputa*. Regarding *dhāmāra*, Appaya-Tulsī says: 'सोऽयं चण्ड इति स्वयं निगदितः श्रीशाङ्गदेवेनाहि', i.e. the ancient name of *dhāmarā* is *caṇḍa*. Śāraṅgadeva describes *caṇḍa* as: 'द्रुतत्रयं लघुद्वन्द्वं चण्डताले वभाषिरे', which means 00011. *Dhāmāra* is sometimes known as *vṛhat-tāla*. As regards *cautāla* or *catustāla*, Appaya Tulsī says: 'सवारिरिति विश्रुतोस्ति दशपञ्च यस्मिन् कलाः। स एव गजझम्प इत्यभिहितोस्ति रत्नाकरे', i.e. the *śāstric* and ancient name of *cautāla* is *gajajhampa*. As regards *rūpaka*, Appaya-Tulsī says: 'शास्त्रेसौ कथितस्तृतीय इति निःशङ्केन रत्नाकरे', i.e. Nissaṅka or Śāraṅgadeva calls *rūpaka* as *tṛtīya-tāla*, which is composed of 7 *mātrās*. But we have seen that all the estimate of Appaya-Tulsī are not acceptable, as the names and time-measures or *mātrās* of the *tālās* differ from those of the other masters.

The South Indian system of music has adopted a scheme of 35 *tālas*, which were developed by Purandaradāsa. It is said that only 35 *tālas* were determined by time- untis

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of *laghu*, *drutaṃ* and *aṇudrutaṃ*. From the scheme of 35 *tālas*, we know that main *tālas* are 7 in number, and they each contain 5 constituent *aṅgas* or varieties, resulting $7 \times 5 = 35$ *tālas*. The *aṅgas* are *aṇudrutaṃ*, *drutaṃ*, *guru*, *plutaṃ* and *kākapādaṃ*. The five *aṅgas* are composed of different units or *kalās*, which are again constituted out of the letters (*akṣaras*), in relation to time-units or *mātrās*, and they are :

(a) *Aṇudrutaṃ* consists of 1 letter and $\frac{1}{4}$ time-unit.
(*b*) *Drutaṃ* consists of 2 letters and $\frac{1}{2}$ time-unit.
(c) *Guru* consists of 8 letters and 2 time-units.
(d) *Plutaṃ* consists of 12 letters and 3 time-units.
(e) *Kākapadaṃ* consists of 16 letters and 4 time-units.

Some admit six *aṅgas*, including *laghu*, having 4 letters and 1 time-unit or *mātrā*. The time-values are observed by the beats (*ghāta* or *āghāta*) and silence (*khāli* or *phāṅk*). Their values, being constant, have no variation or alteration. But the *akṣarakalā* of each *tāla* can easily be altered. The *tālas* are again classified under the head of different *jātis* like *tisra*, *misra*, *khaṇḍa*, *saṅkīrṇa*, and *catusra*. They can be thus illustrated,

I. *Tisra-jāti* consists of three time-units (*mātrās*). Different time-beats (*tālas*), having three, six, nine, twelve, and twenty-four time-units, belong to the *tisra-jāti*.

II. *Miśra-jāti* is the combination of the *jātis* like *catusra* and *tisra*. It consists of seven time-units.

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III. *Khaṇḍa-jāti* is consisted of five time-units, and the time-beats, with five, ten, and fifteen time-unites belong to the *khaṇḍa-jāti*.

IV. *Saṅkīrṇa-jāti* comprises of nine time-units. The time-beats, with nine, eighteen and thirty-six time-units belong to the *saṅkīrṇa-jāti*.

V. *Catusra-jāti* consists of four time-units and time-beats, with four, eight, sixteen and thirty-two time-units belong to the *catusra-jāti*.

There are 35 *alaṁkāras* for illustrating the 35 *tālas*. The nomenclature of the *tālas* are based on *katapayādi* and *bhuta-saṅkhyās*. The main 7 *tālas* of the South Indian system are *dhruva*, *matya rūpaka*, *jhampa*, *triputa*, *ata*, and *eka*. As for example,

(a) The *dhruva-tāla* consists of 4+2+4+4=14 time-units (*mātrās*), having 4 strokes.

(b) The *matya-tāla* consists of 4+2+4=10 time-units, having 3 strokes.

(c) The *rūpaka-tāla* consists of 2+4=6 time-units, having 2 strokes.

(d) The *jhampa-tāla* consists of 4+1+2=7 time-units, having 3 strokes.

(e) The *triputa-tāla* consists of 4+2+2=8 time-units, having 3 strokes.

(f) The *ata-tāla* consists of 4+4+2+2=12 time-units, having 4 strokes.

(g) The *eka-tāla* consists of 4 time-units, having only one stroke.

It should be remembered that the values of all the

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time-units (*mātrās*) are considered as light or *laghu*, and the number of the units can be changed into more time-beats or *tālas*. All the main *tālas* and their varieties possess definite letter-units or *akṣarakalās* for a circle or *āvarta*. From the detailed list of the South Indian *tālas* it appears that though most of them differ in their names, yet their system of *mātrā* and rhythmical accent are almost similar to those of the *tālas* current in ancient times. Besides, nine *navasandhi-tālas* are still current in South India. Some are of opinion that the nine *nava-sandhi-tālas* were practised in the sacred rituals and ceremonies, and also before the deities of the holy shrines and temples. The *champu-tāla* and its varieties, and the *deśādī* and *madhyamādi tālas* are also current in South India. Prof. Sāmbamoorthy is of opinion that the players of the *mṛdaṅgams* in the South, when accompanying the musicians, do not merely beat the *svara-laghu*, but 'provides a cross-rhythmical accompaniment, based on the style movement and rhythmical construction of the pieces rendered'.

Rhythmical harmony or rhythmical construction is vital for the *tāla* systems of all the civilized countries of the world. The *tāla* system of the classical *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal is worth-mentioning in this connection. We have seen that the number of *tālas*, both simple and intricate, is innumerable in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, as the rhythmical movements, *kalā* and *laya* of the

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padāvalī-kīrtana are different from those of the classical Hindusthānī and Carnatic music, to some extent. In the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, *Saṅgīta-ratnāvalī*, *Saṅgītasāra--saṁgraha*, and other music treatises of Bengal and Orissā, many of the *tālas* of classical music and *padāvalī-kīrtana* have been discussed, along with other classical forms.[19]

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19. Śāraṅgadeva mentions 120 *deśi tālas*, with their divisions of metres. He says :

आदितालो द्वितीयश्च तृतीयोऽथ ततुर्थकः ॥
पञ्चमो निःशङ्कलीलो दर्पणः सिंहविक्रमः ।
रतिलीलः सिंहलीलः कन्दर्पो वीरविक्रमः ॥
रङ्ग श्रीरङ्गचञ्चर्यौ प्रत्यङ्गो यतिलग्नकः ।
राजचूड़ामणी रङ्गद्योतो रङ्गप्रदीपकः ॥
राजतालो वर्णतालः सिंहविक्रीड़तो जयः ।
वनमालो हंसनादः सिंहनादः कुडुक्कः ॥
तुरङ्गलीलः शरभलीलः स्यात् सिंहनन्दनः ।
त्रिभङ्गिरङ्गाभरणो मण्ठकः कोकिलाप्रियः ॥
निःसारुको राजविद्याधरश्च जयमङ्गलः ।
मल्लिकामोदविजयानन्दौ क्रीड़ाजयश्रियौ ॥
मकरन्दः कीर्तितालः श्रीकीर्तिः प्रतितालकः ।
विजयो विन्दुमाली च समनन्दनमण्ठिकाः ॥
दीपकोदीक्षणौ ढेङ्की विषमो वर्णमण्ठिका ।
अभिनन्दोऽनङ्गनान्दीमल्लकङ्कालकन्दुकाः ॥
एकताली च कुमुदश्चतुस्ताली च डोम्बुली ।
अभङ्गो वायवङ्कोलो वसन्तो लघुशेखरः ॥
प्रतापशेखरो झम्पा गजझम्पश्चतुर्मुखः ।
मदनः प्रतिमण्ठश्च पार्वतीलोचनो रतिः ॥
लीलाकरणयत्याख्यौश्च च लक्ष्मीशो ललितप्रियः ॥
श्रीनन्दनश्च जनको वर्धनो रागवर्धनः ।
षट्तालश्चान्तरक्रीड़ा हंसोत्सवविलोकिताः ॥
गजो वर्णयतिः सिंहः करणः सारसस्तथा ।
चण्डतालश्चन्द्रकलालयस्कन्दोऽड्डतालिकाः ॥

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Now, what it the psychological significance and value of rhythm and tempo in Indian music? What is the prime object of using the music materials like rhythm and tempo? Everything subjective is more fundamental than the objective one. Well has it been said by E. B. Havell, in connection with the beauty of Fine Art: 'Beauty, * * * * is subjective, not objective. It is not inherent in form or matter; it belongs only to spirit, and can only be apprehended by spiritual vision'. Really spirit can be appreciated by spirit. The emotive feeling and spiritual experience are absolutely personal and subjective. All rhythm and tempo are primarily the *projection* of one's own personality. The objective perception of rhythm and tempo involves the whole organism, and it requires primarily five fundamental capacities. Dr. Seashore says in his *Psychology of Music* that 'the first two of these are the sense of time and the sense of intensity, corresponding respectively to the two attributes of sound, which constitute the sensory media of rhythm. The third and fourth are auditory imagery and

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धत्ता वन्दमुकुन्दौ च कुविन्दश्च कलध्वनिः।
गोरीसरस्वतीकण्ठभरणी भग्नसंज्ञकः॥
ताली राजमृगाङ्कश्च राजमार्तण्डसंज्ञकः।
निःशङ्कः शार्ङ्गदेवश्चेत्येते सीदलसूनवः॥
देशीतालाः समादिष्टाः विंशत्यभ्यधिकं शतम्।

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ५।२३९—२५१

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motor imagery, that is, the capacity of reviving vividly in representation the auditory experience and motor attitudes respectively. The fifth is a motor impulse for rhythm, an instinctive tendency, chiefly unconscious and largely organic'.

All mental life works eternally in a rhythmical process, and even objective material things of the universe observe the rhythmical law consciously or unconsciously, propelled by some unknown inscrutable power or energy. According to psychology and philosophy of music, the rhythm and tempo are not only the essential parts of music, but are also vital to our life. They create a complete balance and symmetry in the vibrations or movements of tones and tunes of music, and thus produce a resonance of them in our emotional being, and bestow upon us celestial peace and tranquility. Everything mental and material bears a spiritual significance and value. Music is the greatest of all arts, and though its inherent ingredients or parts, rhythm and tempo are apparently woven into the warp and woof of contingent phenomenal time and space, yet essentially they transcend the limits of time and space, and make themselves the best and meet vehicle, for bringing unto us the transcendental harmony and peace.

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Chapter Ten

EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF VEEṆĀ

Musical instruments of India have been divided into four heads : (1) *tata* or stringed instruments, (2) *vitata* or instruments covered with skin, (3) *ghana* or instruments that give resonance by the concussion of two solid bodies, and (4) *suṣira* or wind instruments. All the instruments, not only of India, but also of all the countries of the world, can be included in these four classes or categories.

The *veeṇā* is one of the most ancient stringed instruments that India has produced. The natural tendency of men is to enjoy relaxation, in the midst their thousand toilsome and monotonous domestic duties and affairs, and they try to find out the best means of their enjoyment and solace. This tendency also prevailed among the people in the most ancient times. The primitive men were fond of artistic creations, though they were very simple and crude. They drew inspiration from the aweful beauty of Nature around them, and thus used to elevate and animate their thoughts and emotive feelings.

In the beginning of the civilization in Vedic India, men and women used to worship the sky (*Varuṇa*) and the sun (*Mitra*)

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Primitive Bow-Instrument (*Dhanuryantram*) of the native musicians of South Africa.
(from Hugh Gunn's *The British Empire*)

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or the sun in the blue sky (*Mitra-Varuṇa*). With the advancement of civilization and culture, the primitive men became familiar with the use of fire, and they regarded it as a diminutive form, nay, the prototype of the glowing sun, the celestial god. They used the fire for various domestic purposes. When they became familiar with the use of iron, they began to hunt the wild animals, and fight their enemies with the help of bows and arrows. Besides other implements, the bow was also used to serve the purpose of signalling the advent of the enemy or any other danger, like the blazing flames of the fire. They used to produce the reverberating grave sounds, by pulling the gut strings of the bows (*jyā-śabda* or *dhanuṣṭaṅkāra*). That sound may be regarded as the source of their inspiration, for designing and constructing the musical instruments of the primitive people. The curveture of the bow supplied the idea of the method of constructing the body of their crude *veeṇā* and the connecting gut strings. The primitive shape of the *veeṇā* was curved like the body of the bow. It was like the body of the ancient lyres and harps, to some extent. The primitive men made the strings of the *veeṇā*, out of the intestines of wild animals, fastened them to the two exetrems of its bent body, and used to play it, by plucking the strings with fingers. It seems that in the beginning, a single gut string was used to produce a mono

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sweet sound. Gradually additions and alterations were made to improve the struture of the *veeṇā*, and to increase the number of its sounds, together with their tonal qualities. The primitive men sometimes connected two horizontal bars of bamboo or wood, fastened a gut string to the two ends of the bars, thus forming a triangle. This type resembled the ancient Georgia, Caucasus, and Finland types of lyre, to some extent.

But the *veeṇā* of India is neither a lyre nor a harp, though we commonly transtale it into English as 'lyre'; it may be included in the Western lyre class of stringed instrument. Regarding lyre, Prof. Panum says that lyre type of stringed instrument was first found in Western Asia, in the land lying between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Then it made its way to the Nile country and to Greece, where it was quickly adopted as the national instrument, and where it reached the zenith of its artistic career. The earliest evidence of the existence of a stringed instrument of the lyre family is to be found in Homer (ninth century B. C.), who sometimes called it *phorminx*, sometimes *kitaris*, but evidently he meant the identical instrument in both the cases. 'From a philological point of view', says Prof. Panum, '*phorminx* is considered to be of Hellenic, and *kitaris* of the Asiatic origin'. But *phorminx* alias *kitaris* has been described far more elaborately

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in the Greek legend of Hermes, than the lyre in Homer. As the theme of the Homeric epic originated in Asia Minor, it is natural to presume that the lyre, mentioned by the poet, was an intrument of Asiatic origin, while the oldest literary sources mentioned only the names *phorminx* and *kitaris*. These two new terms came into fashion during the seventh century B. C.—*lyre* and *kitara*. In the bas-relief of the British Museum, representations of Assyrian horizontal Angle-Harps are found. They resemble the Egyptian bow-harp, and the frame-harp of the Middle Ages, that was used to be carried in an upright position, was plucked by the fingers from both sides.

In the 4000 B. C., we find a bow-harp—Egyptian instrument, which is similar to the bow-shapped *veeṇā* of India and other Asiatic countries. In the mural-paintings at Pompeii, we come across a bow-shaped harp, which was known as the Angle-Harp, and it was similar to Indian *veeṇā*. We find also stringed instruments with seven and nine strings, which were similar to *citrā* and *vipañcī veeṇās*, as described by Bharata, in his *Nātyaśāstra*. Dr. Oskar Seffert says in the *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (1891) that from Strabo's statement we come to know that lyre with seven strings was in practice in the time of Terpender (about 675 or 672 B.C.). He added three more strings to the original lyre of four strings, and

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increased the compass of the scale from the two conjunct tetrachords of the seven-stringed lyre to a full octave, without increasing the number of the strings. This he did by adding one more string at the upper end of the scale, and taking away the next string but one (vide also Aristotle : *Problems*, XIX. 32). Prof. Panum says that Plutarch is of opinion that when Phynis showed his nine-string *kitara* in Sparta for the first time, the Ephor Ekprepes, without hesitation, cut away two of the strings, saying : 'Do not ill-treat music, I beg of you'.

We find, therefore, some transitional, i.e. evolutional stages in the formation of the developed *veenā*, from the crude bow. The successive stages can generally be divided into three : (1) the bow, with a long gut string ; (2) The bow-instrument, with a finished rod of bamboo or wood, and plucked cord ; and (3) The instrument, with gourd, finished rod and different chords or strings. (1) The first one produced a grave sound, reverberating far and near, when pulled by the fingers, at the time of discharge of the arrows. The grave sound served as a signal for imminent danger. (2) The second one worked as an element of tension, for creating vibrations for agreeable sound. The cords were struck by a plectrum, or a piece of bamboo or wood, instead of an arrow. (3) The third one worked as an element of length for measure. The strings were attached from one end to the other, and

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they produced different sounds, when pulled by the fingers, or plucked by the plectrum. Further the third one gradually underwent many changes, with more complex construction and richness in volume of the sound, emanting therefrom. In fact, the bow is the origin of all kinds of stringed instruments.

Now it will be interesting to know how the word '*veeṇ*' or '*veeṇā*' was coined for the most ancient stringed instrument of India. In the Ṛkveda, we do not get directly any word like *veeṇā*, respresenting a stringed instrument. The great German indologist, Max Müller was also of the same opinion, when he said : 'There is no authority for *veeṇā*, meaning either lyre or flute in the Vedas'. But, instead of the term '*veeṇā*', we get the word '*vāṇa*' (वाण) and '*kṣoṇa*' (क्षोण) in the Ṛkveda : 'धमंतो वाणं मरुतः सुदानवो मदे सोमस्य रण्यानि चक्रिरे' (Ṛ.K. 1·85. 10) ; 'युवं श्यावाय रुशतीमदत्तं महः क्षोणस्याश्विना कण्वाय' (Ṛ.K. 1· 118·7) ; 'माता यन्मं-तुर्यूथस्य पूर्वग्राभि वाणस्य सप्तधातुरिज्जनः' (Ṛ.K. 10·32 ·4). Besides, a reference of the musical instrument '*piṅga*' is also found in it, which means, says R. C. Dutt, the 'bow-instrument', or *dhānuryantraṃ* (धनुर्यन्त्रम्),, the forerunner of the violin family. In the Ṛ.K. 8. 69. 9, we find,

अव स्वराति गर्गरो गोधा परि-सनिष्वणत् ।
पिंगा परि चनिष्कददिंद्राय ब्रह्मोद्यतम् ॥

Gargara and *godhā* are also the musical instruments, and *godhā* has been described in the

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latter Vedic literature as *veeṇā* i.e. *godhā-veeṇā*,—the *veeṇā* with strings of gut of the *godhā*: 'गोधावीणाकाः काण्डवीणाकाश्च पत्न्यो वादयन्ति' (कात्यायन-श्रौतसूत्र १३।५०). However, the musical instrument *vāṇa* has also been mentioned in the Atharva-veda (10.2.27), where it is said: 'को वाणम् को नृतो दधौ'।

Now, regarding the verse: 'धमंतो वाणं' etc. (1·85·10), the commentator Sāyaṇa says: 'ते मरुतः वाणं शतसंख्याभिस्तन्त्रीभिर्युक्तं बीणाविशेषं धमन्ते वादयन्तः', and regarding the verse: 'युवां श्यावाय' etc. (1·118·7), he says: 'कण्वाय क्षोणस्य क्षोणः शब्द-कारिवीणाविशेषः महामहतः क्षोणस्य श्रवः शब्दं अध्यधत्तम् उषसोविज्ञानार्थं अधिकं कुरुतम्'। Again on commenting on the words: 'वाणस्य सप्तधातुरिज्जनः' (R.K. 10. 32·4), Sāyaṇa observes that '*sapta-dhātu*' means 'seven tones' as procured from the hundred strings of the *vāṇa* (*veeṇā*). Kātyāyana has used this word *vāṇa*, with a hundred strings: 'वाणेन शतन्तुना', though in his time, the *vāṇa* was known as the modified *kātyāyana-veeṇā* (with hurndred strings), and an instrument is also prevalent even in these days in Kāshmere in the name of '*saṇtur*', with hundred helping or side strings. Kātyāyana says that the strings of the '*vāṇa-veeṇā* were made of the *muñjā*-grass, twisted with care. Ācārya Karka mentions about the *vāṇa*, when commenting in the verse: 'वाणेन शततन्तुना' (13·32): 'वाणो महति वीणा, शतं तन्तवो यस्यासौ शततन्तुः, तेनोपा-करणम्'।

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Now, from all these references, we can conclude that *vāṇa* was the most ancient type of stringed instrument, and that different kinds of stringed instruments were designed after it, in later days. Again from the study of the oldest literature of the world, the Vedas, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Sūtras*, we may conclude like Mr. J. F. Rowbotham that in most ancient times, music passed mainly through three stages of development, each characterized by a separate class of instrument. The instruments of percussion or drum like *dundubhi*, *bhūmi-dundubhi*, *panava*, etc. supposed to be the oldest, while the instruments of wind or flute (*veṇu* or *vaṁśa*) come next in order of time and civilization, and stringed instruments like *vāṇa*, *kṣoṇa*, etc. (of the *veeṇā* or lyre or harp class) are the latest invention of every separate race.

The word '*veeṇā*' seems to have been derived from its forerunner, *vāṇa*, which means 'to sound' ('*vaṇ*'—to sound or to move+*ghaṅ*). Max Müller translates *vāṇa* as the 'human voice'. The term '*vāṇa*' (वाणः) has been derived from the root '*van*' (वन), which means 'sound' (शब्दः) or 'speed' (गतिः). Paṇini says : 'वण शब्दे' (भाः गः), or 'वण गतौ' (अः गः) +घञ् (३।३।८१). That is, 'वाणः शब्दः गतिर्वा' अस्य अस्ति अर्थे अर्श 'आदित्व-निबन्धन अच् (पाणिनि ५।२।१२७). The term '*veeṇā*' (वीणा) has been derived as 'व्येति जायते स्वरोऽस्याम्' i.e 'वी गत्यादिषु'—'वो'-धातु राल्लसान्सा इत्यादिना (उः ३।१५) उनादिक न-प्रत्ययः। निपातने सिद्धत्वात् 'न' स्थाने 'ण'+स्त्री-आप्।

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That is, '*vaṇ*' (वण) धातुः (of *vāṇa*) conveys the idea of both 'sound' (शब्दः) and musical tone (स्वरः), and at same time 'speed' (गतिः), and *vyeti* (व्येति) of *veeṇā* conveys the idea of 'sound' (शब्दः स्वर्वा), and from these derivations we get the term 'sound' (शब्दः स्वर्वा) common to both, *vāṇa* and *veeṇā*. Again 'sound' or 'tone' (शब्दः स्वर्वा) involves in it the 'speed' or motion (गतिः), as the particles of sound and those of speed or motion have their origin in the vibrations of atoms and electrons. The *Taittirīya-samhitā* (6.1.4.1) has stated : 'वदति या (वाक्) वीणायाम्', and the *Aitareya-āraṇyaka* mentions regarding *veeṇā* : 'यथा ह्येवेयं शब्दवतो तद्गंधवती एवमसौ शब्दवती तद्गंधवती'। Thus we find that both the words *vāṇa* and *veeṇā* express the idea of 'sound' that pervades i.e. exerts influence upon the minds of men, and it is most probable that the term '*veeṇā*' has been derived from '*vāṇa*'.

In Sumer, we come across a word '*pan*' or '*ban*', which stood for 'bow' instrument, and later perhaps for 'harp' also. Dr. Farmer says that we do not know its later name, by which it was know in Mesopotamia, although its last descendants were Pahlavi *vōn*, and the Arabic *wann*. 'At Gizeh we espy the identical bow-harp predicated in Mesopotamia as the *ban* or *pan*, but in a form much nearer its day of puberty. At this early date, when it was known in Egypt as the *ben*, *bent*, or *bin*, *bint* (cf. Coptic *boini*, *oyoini*), it had a narrow and prefectly

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cylindrical crescent-shaped body with six strings* *'.

The *veeṇā* with straight form, and having a single bamboo or wooden body, evolved later on, and this type required ability and intellect in playing. It is a natural law that the crude and simple type is always replaced by the developed one. In the *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*, Pārśa-deva (7th-11th century A.D.) says : '*bhajate sarva-veeṇānāṃ ekatantrī-pradhānataḥ*', i.e. though there are various types of *veeṇā*, yet the *veeṇā* with a single string (*ekatantrī*) is the prime one. It is reasonable to think that the *veeṇā* with a single string (*ekatantrī*) is very ancient. And it has been mentioned before that this type of *veeṇā* required, more developed mental preparation and skill for freting and adjusting the sound-board. So we may say that the bow-shaped *veeṇā*, with one string (*ekatantrī-veeṇā*), gives rise to all sorts of *veeṇā*.

In the prehistoric Indus Valley civilization, we find the remains of *veeṇā*, along with different drums, crude type of pipes, and a bronze dancing girl, which go back to 3500-3000 B.C. or 4000-3500 B.C. It is well known that the prehistoric Indus Valley people developed a unique culture and ascended the height of civilization, as was possible in that shadowy past, but *veeṇā* originated long before the prehistoric civilization and culture. Prof. Panum, on the evidence of Egyptian mural paintings, says that the date of

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the bow-shaped harp goes back to 4000-3000 B.C. But evidences available in India go to prove that *veeṇā* antedated the instrument, depicted in the painting. Prof. Panum further mentions that in the 4th century B.C., Aristotle described a type of lyre, in which strings were fastened to the top and the bottom. This type reminds us of the Indian type of single stringed *ekatantrī-veeṇā*, which evolved after the primitive form of the bow-shaped lute.

Marguerite Milward says in her *Artists in Unknown India* (1948) that she found among the primitive *Chenchu* people in the Hydrabad State musical instrument called Kinera, 'with three gourds as sounding boards and two strings; peacock feathers stuck to the open bamboo ends'. It is a kind of *veeṇā* with two strings, which is called the *dvitantrī*. She says that the *Chenchus* always carry a bow and arrow in self-defence, and to shoot small birds and game for food'. It may be taken for granted that though their *kinera* was a more developed kind of *veeṇā* than the bow type one, being possessed of ten frets and three gourds, it was all the same evolved from the Bow. Miss Milward gives some illustrations of Saora Guitar (*Kullaten Rajan*), with a gourd and a wooden handle. It contains two keys and five frets, and two gut strings are attached to the keys. Again it may be of interest to note that another musical instrument (*Gogged Rajan*) exactly resembles our *ekatantrī-*

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veeṇā, but it contains two strings with two nuts, a sound-board, covered with skin, and a wooden bridge on the middle of the sound board. This *veeṇā* is played with a bow, and we may safely conclude that the Bow is the forerunner of the *veeṇā*, and all kinds of stringed instruments.

Henry Balfour mentions in *The Natural History of the Musical Bow* (1899) that the hunter's bow is the source or forerunner of all stringed instruments. W. D. Hambly says in his *Tribal Dancing* (1926) that Mr. Henry Balfour has clearly demonstrated the evolution of the musical bow from the occasional adaptation of the hunter's bow, and has collected a series of illustrations, explaining stages of development. He shows the transition to stage where the bow is only a musical instrument, and he maps out its distribution in Africa, North India, Cambodia, Borneo, Timor, New Guinea, the Solomons, the New Hebrides, Hawaii, the Marquesas, Mexico, Brazil, and Patagonia. Mr. Hambly is of opinion that a most ingenious stringed instrument is found among the Ba Thonga, 'who attach a calabash or sound-box to the lower extremity of a bow. The performer holds the bow at the lower third of a string with a little stick, and here it may be noted that the usual method is to tap, and not stroke, the strings of the primitive musical instrument'. 'The Bongo of East Africa make such a bow of string tightly stretched and struck by a slender strip

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of split bamboo. The sounding-board is not made of a calabash, but resonance is given by placing one end of the bow to the open mouth of the performer, while one hand is left free to tap the string'. Henry Balfour gives many examples of the bow instruments of Southern and Central America, Central India, and Indonesia. The bow instruments were also used by the peoples of ancient Rome and Greece. There are some evidences of the bow, among the aboriginal Bhuiyars, in the Mirzapur hills and it is known as the *darkhun*, which is extensively used in ceremonial functions of the Bhuiyars. This type of the bow instrument, may be compared with the *kokurai*, found in South India. A kind of bow instrument, with a split bamboo comb, is used in the *kurma* dances of the Dravidians. In the Travancore state, the native Shanars also use a kind of bow instrument that resembles the *eakatantrī-veeṇā*, used in India in folk songs. Henry Balfour is of opinion that the musical instrument with monochord is a descendant of the archer's weapon. In Orissā and Chotanāgpur, we find a bow instrument with monochord, which is known as the *tuila*, used by the Ho-Koles, resembling the *gubo*, of the native people of South Africa. The similar kind of bow instrument, *bajah* is used by the natives of Orissā, and it is fitted with a string of gut or metal wire. Prof. Balfour says that 'these instruments, *tuila*

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and *bajah* form an important intermediate link in the developmental chain of the such highly specialized instruments as the *veeṇā* of India,* *'. The *se-san-laos* of Siam, the *piah* of Laos, and the *busoi* of Borneo, are also the bow instruments.

Prof. Hortense Panum is of opinion that the finger-board instruments were widely used by the civilized peoples of Western Asia : the Sumerians, Hittites, Elamites, Assyrians and Persians, and (from the time of the New Empire) also in Egypt. A. H. Layard says in his *Nineveh and Remains* (1850) that 'the Assyrians, like Egyptians, probably had various musical instruments ; only two kinds are represented in sculptures—a drum and a sort of triangular harp or lyre, which is held between the left arm and the side, and apparently suspended from the neck.* * The instrument was struck with a plecktrum, held in the right hand ; the left appears to have been used either to pull the strings, or to produce notes by pressure. Like the Egyptian harp, it had no cross piece between the upright bar and the flat board or base'. Such is also the contention of Bonomi. He says in his *Nineveh and Palaces* that the royal minstrels played instruments with nine strings, which can be compared to the Nubian harp. But the mural painting actually represents the instrument, having only two strings. It was played with a plectrum or stick by the right hand. Some stringed instru-

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ments have been excavated from the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, that were burried in 68 A.D. by volcanic eruptions of Visuvius. Most of these instruments were of the lyre and lute types.

From Egypt the slender form of the finger-board instrument may be traced to Greece, and there it was known as the *pandoura*. But by 'calling comparative science' to his aid and consulting ethnology, the German musical historian, Curt Sachs ('*Die Streichbogenfrage* ; *Arch. f. Musikwissenschaft*', 1918, I) finally came to the conclusion that 'bowing did not, as was hitherto supposed, indicate a later stage than the plucking method. Even if the monuments did not show any instance of the use of a bow in antiquity, he found in the fact that the most primitive stringed instruments in the world, used by the most primitive peoples of the present day, are consistently played by bowing, whereas the later types are always manipulated by plucking the strings ; a proof that the question of plucking or bowing cannot be answered by chronological or technical evidence, but is a popular psychological problem.* * Among the primitive Asiatic peoples, such as the mountain and island dwellers of India, who retained their customs, it was, and is still, the bowing method that took the lead. Not until the Persians eventually came in contact with other nations that were culturally their inferiors, did

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they become acquainted with the bow. In the same manner, the classical peoples of the Mediterranean appeared in history plucking the strings of their instruments, while the primitive Gothic peoples—and chief among them the Germans—introduced themselves as users of the bow.* * During the interchange of cultural ideas between the nations, which took place in the Middle Ages, the national peculiarities of the instruments were gradually levelled, so that the bowed and plucked types, in many cases, changed their mode of playing and, with the co-operation of the *luthiers*, their nature also. Of the later mediæval plucked instruments, therefore, some appear clearly as descendants of bowed instruments (e.g., the Spanish Vihuela, Chitarra Battente and Guitar), just as some of the instruments that by their nature were destined to be plucked, (1) the mediæval *rebec* developed from the originally plucked Moorish *rebāb*, and the oldest types of fiddle; and (2) The German Grossgeige, still traceable in the works of Virdung and Agricola'.[1]

But in the Vedic period, we find highly developed mechanical skill in the construction of the *veeṇā* in India. As has already been said that in *Ṛk-veda*, we come across with the word '*vāṇa*', which represents the *veeṇā* with hundred strings: '*vāṇo*

1. Cf. Panum: *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages* (London), pp. 219-220.

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mahati veeṇā, śataṃ tantavo yasyāsau śatatantuḥ, tenopākaraṇaṃ. Asmin vāṇe maunjāstantavo vetasa vṛkṣasambandi vādanamityarthaḥ'. In the *Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa*, it is known as the *śatatantrī-veeṇā*, made up of wood with a gourd, covered by the skin of a red ox. Behind its neck were ten holes, in which ten strings of *muñjā* or *durvā* glass were fastened. It was played with the help of a bamboo plectrum (*koṇa*). The commentator Sāyaṇa has mentioned the *kṣouṇī-veeṇā*, in connection with the *vāṇa*. We also find the mention of the *kaṇḍa-veeṇā*, which was no other than the bamboo flute. Besides these, we find references of the *picchorā* or *piccholā* and the *audumvarī*, made up of *udumvara* wood. When the Sāmaga Brāhmiṇs and Yajamānas used to sing the *sāmagāna* before the sacrificial alters, their devoted wives played the *godhā* and *picchorā veeṇās*, along with *kāṇḍa-veeṇā*, the bamboo flute. The mouth of the gourd of the *godhā-veeṇā* was covered with the skin of the *godhā*. In connection with the *Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa*, Dr. Caland says: 'Behind the Choristers* * the wives of the Yajamānas take their seat; each of them has two instruments, a *kāṇḍa-veeṇā* and a *picchorā*; on these they play alltogether alternately, first on the *kāṇḍaveeṇā*, then on the *picchorā*. The *kāṇḍa-veeṇā* is a flute of bamboo, the *picchorā*, a guitar, which is beaten by means of a plectrum, Lāty. IV. 2.5-7, Drāhy. XI. 2.6-8. The Jaim br. (cp. '*Das Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa in Auswahl*' No.—165)

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enumerates the following instruments: *karkari*[2], *ālābu*, *vakra*, *kapiśīrṣṇī*, *aiṣīki*, *apaghātalikā*, (cp. Ap., below), *veeṇā kāśyapī* (cp, Ath, S. IV. 37.4: *āghātaḥ karkaryāḥ*—'cymbals and lutes', Whiteny). Ap. XXI. 17. 6, 19 names three instruments: *apaghātalikā*, *tambalaveeṇā*, and *piccholā*: the second is, according to R. Garbe (see his Introduction to Ap. Vol. III, page VIII) a tamil *guitār*. Baudh. XVI. 20: 266. 9-10; 267. 9-10 names also three instruments: *āghāti*, *piccholā* and *karkarīkā*, on which cp. the *karmāntasūtra* (Baudh. XXVI. 17 s.f.): Sāṅkh. XVII. 8. 12 has: '*ghāta-karkarir-avaghātalikāḥ kāṇḍaveeṇāḥ picchorā iti*', read perhaps '*āghātārir-avaghāta*', etc; but the following passage (*sutra* 15-17) is rather uncertain'. Again he mentions it in the *Pañca-viṁśā-brāhmaṇa* (Cp. Jaim, br. II. 45, 418, Kath. XXXIV. 5: 39. 10; TS. VII. 5. 9. 2).—The *vāṇa* is an instrument of wood, according to *Sāṅkh.* consisting of a kind of crate and handle (cross-bar ?); it is covered with the skin of a red ox, hairs on the outside, it has ten holes at its back side, over each of which ten strings are fastened; these strings are manufactured of *muñjā* or *durbā* grass. The strings are touched by the *Udgātṛ*, by means of a reed of a piece of bamboo (with its leaves), that is bent of itself (not by the hand of man): *indreṇatayā*

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2. Regarding *karkari* Sāyaṇa says: 'कर्करिर्यथा कर्करिर्वदति कर्करिर्वाद्यविशेषः अन्यद्व्याख्यातचरम्'।

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var-*indrana*)-*iṣīkāyā*, Jaim. br., and from this text the word is taken over by Laty. Drāhy.* * *Udgātṛ* does not properly play on this instrument, having touched the strings * * with the plectrum, he orders a Brāhmiṇ to play on it; Drāhy, XI. 1. 1-16; cp. Ap, XXI. 18.9; Sāṅkh XVII. 3. 1-11'. Dr. A. B. Keith says in his *Sanskrit Drama*: 'Thus at the Mahāvrata, maidens dance round the fire as a spell to bring down rain for the crops. and to secure the prosperity of the herds. Before the marriage ceremony is completed (*Sāṅkhyāna-gṛhyasūtra*, I. 11.5) there is dance of matrons whose husbands are still alive,* * and dancers are present who dance to the sound of lute and the flute, dance, music, and song fill the whole day of moving'. MM. Ramakṛṣṇa-kavi has also mentioned, in connection with the musical instruments, including *veeṇā*, in the Vedic songs, *sāmagāna*: '* * a careful examination of the Vedic rites and *śikṣās* thereupon drives one to the irresistable conclusion that the origin of Indian music lay in certain rites where the priest and the performer chant some *gāthās* alternately, while the wife (*Yajamānī*) plays on *veeṇā*, and the closing of the sacrifice was enjoined with the conduct of a peculiar dance. The kind of *veeṇā*, mentioned for the above purpose, is called *piccholā*, and in another place it is called *audumvarī* (औदुम्बरी), that is made of *udumvara* wood'.

In the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (3.2.5) *veeṇā* has

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been described in detail. It mentions two kinds of *veeṇā* : *daivī* and *mānuṣī*. It was believed that the *daivī-veeṇā* was practised by the *devas* or bright spirits, and the *mānuṣī*, by the mortal men. The *Brāhmaṇa* describes : '*atha khalviyaṃ daivī-veeṇā bhavati, tadanukṛtirasau mānuṣī veeṇā bhavati.* * * *lomaśena ha sma vai carmaṇā purā veeṇā api-dadhati*', etc.[3] From this we learn that both the *veeṇās* were played with the help of the fingers. The gourd was covered with skin with hair ('*lomaśena carmaṇā apihitā*').[4]

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B. C.), Vālmikī has described the *veeṇā*, *vipañcī*, with nine strings, the the detailed description of which is found in Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* (2nd century A.D.). Dr. Panum has mentioned Plutarch's remarks that when Phrynis showed the nine stringed *kitārā* in Sparta for the first time, the Ephor Ekpres cut

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3. अथ खल्वियं दैवीवीणा भवति, तदनुकृतिरसौ मानुषीवीणा भवति। यथास्याः शिरः एवममुष्याः शिरः, यथास्या उदरमेवममुष्या अम्भणम्। यथास्यै जिह्वा एवममुष्यै वादनम्, यथा अस्यास्तन्त्रया एवममुष्या अङ्गुलयः। यथास्याः स्वरा एवममुष्याः स्वराः, यथास्याः स्पर्श एवममुष्या स्पर्शाः, यथा ह्येवेयं शब्दवती तर्ह्मवती एयमसौ शब्दवती तर्ह्मवती, यथा ह्येवेयं लोमशेन चर्मणाऽपिहिता भवति एवमसौ लोमशेन चर्मणाऽपिहिता। लोमशेन ह स्म वै चर्मणा पुरा वीणा अपिदधति। स यो हैतां दैवीं वीणां वेदश्रुतवदनो भवति, भूमिप्राऽस्य कीर्तिर्भवति यत्र कवचार्या वाचो भाषन्ते विदुरेणं तत्र इति।

—ऐतरेय-आरण्यक ३।२।५

4. Besides, we find the mention of

(क) गोधावीणाकाः काण्डवीणाश्च पत्न्यो वादयन्ति (१०।५०)

(ख) Ācārya Karaka says :

गोधाचर्मना नद्धा वीणा गोधावीणाकाः, काण्डः शर इत्युच्यते, तन्मय्यो वीणाः, ता उभयविधा-वीणाः सर्वाः पत्न्यो वादयन्ति, स्तुभिः सत्तृणस्ता उपयागयन्तीत्यर्थ।:

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away two of the strings. From this it is evident that the *veeṇās*, with seven and nine strings (*citrā* and *vipañcī*), travelled far to the Middle East, and even to the Western countries, during the time of Plutarch and Homer. Dr. Panum has also admitted it. He states : 'Homer says of a new type of lyre which came from Asia Minor to Greece, where the tortoise-lyre was *kitārā*, while the national tortoise-lyre was given another title, the lyre'.

Again in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), *veeṇā* has been referred to as *laya* and *tantrī*. The *veeṇā* played a prominent part in the music performances in Royal courts and private chambers. It is said that the wandering bards, Lava and Kuśa used the *ekatantrī-veeṇā* in the *Rāmāyaṇa-gāna*. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivamśa*, we find different types of *veeṇās*, used by the Kings, Brāhmiṇs, Yādavas, and Sāmagas.

The Buddhist *Jatākas* have stated different methods of *veeṇā* play. It is interesting to know that in the *Jātakas* we find references to the practice of the solo performances of *veeṇā*, independent of vocal music. It was developed to a high degree. The description of the *citrā-veeṇā*, with seven strings, is also found in the *Guptila-jātaka*.

In the *Nāradī-śikṣā* (first century A.D.), Nārada has described two kinds of *veeṇā*, *dāravī* and *gātra* :

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Dāravī gātra-veeṇā ca dve veeṇe gānajātiṣu /
Sāmikī gātra-veeṇā tu tasyaḥ śṛṇuta lakṣaṇaṃ //
Gātra-veeṇā tu sā proktā yasyaṃ gyānti sāmagāḥ /

The *gātra-veeṇā* used to be played in the *sāma-gāna*, before the sacrificial alter, and the *dāravī*, to the accompaniment of the *jātirāga-gānas*. The *jātirāgas* have been explained by Bharata, in terms of *jāti*, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In the *Rāmāyaṇā*, the pure type of seven *jātigānas* are also mentioned, and from this it is evident that the *dāravī* type of *veeṇā* was prevalent in the pre-Christian era. Nārada has explained the methods of construction and the process of playing of the *veeṇā* in detail in his *Śikṣā*. It is said that the *gātra-veeṇā* had seven strings, like the *citrā* type of *veeṇā*. It was the practice to place the *veeṇā* on the lap or thigh, held by one of the hands, and played with the top of the thumb, and the middle portion of the closed fingers of the other one. The strings were touched with the finger in such a way that the thumb used to remain free from the finger-bases. The Sāmagas used to play the *gātra-veeṇā* with different notes, three registers, modes and tempo, according to their knowledge as well as to the directions of their experienced teachers. At the beginning of the playing of the *veeṇā*, the players first uttered the *praṇava*, then the *vyāhṛtī* and *sāvitrī* or the *gāyatrī-mantraṃ*, and finally the *vṛtta*. After this, the right hand, with fingers stretched,

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was placed on the base of the strings. Then the strings were plucked by different parts of the fingers, top of the thumb, palm, thumb, attached to the first finger, and the fingers closed and touched with palm.[5] These were the processes which were adopted in the production of short, medium or long length of vibrations. In the case of producing short sounds, the strings were touched softly with the topmost part (*tila-pramāṇa*) of the thumb and half of the upper part of the middle finger, and so on. The body of the player was not allowed to be moved except the lower portion, and that too slightly. The construction and the method of playing the *gātra-veeṇā* were somewhat similar to the harp and lyre of the Western countries.

Bharata describes two kinds of *veeṇā* in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and they are *citrā* and *vipañcī*. The *citrā* type of *veeṇā* had seven strings, whereas the *vipañcī*, nine. The *citrā* was played by the finger, and the *vipañcī*, by the plectrum (*koṇa*). Bharata says,

Sapta-tantrī bhaveccitrā vipañcī navatantrikā/
Vipañcī koṇavādyā syāt citrā cāṅgulī-vādanā//[6]

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5. हस्तौ सुसंयतौ कार्यौ जानुभ्यामुपरिस्थितौ ।
गुरोरनुकृतिं कुर्याद् यथाज्ञाननतिर्भवेत् ॥
प्रणवं प्राक्-प्रयुञ्जीत व्याहृतिस्तदनन्तरम् ।
सावित्रीं चानुवचनं ततो हस्तान्समारभेत् ॥
प्रसार्य चाङ्गुलीः सर्वा रोपयेत् स्वरमण्डलम् ।
न चाङ्गुलीभिरङ्गुष्ठमङ्गुष्ठे नाङ्गुलीः स्पृशेत् ॥

6. Vide *Nāṭyaśāstra* (kāśī ed.), 29. 11.

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These two types of *veeṇā* were used to be played as accompaniments to the *gāndharva* or *mārga* type of *gītis*. Bharata has also mentioned the the names of *veenās* like *kacchapī* (*kaśyapī*) *ghoṣakā*, etc., in connection with the topics of *ātodya* like *puṣkara*, etc.

Dr. M. Kṛṣṇamācāriar says in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* that the *Yāmalatantra* has also mentioned about the *veeṇās* :

Caturvidhānāṃ veeṇānāṃ lakṣaṇaṃ tatri-lakṣṇaṃ/
Kinnara-svara-yantrādi-lakṣaṇaṃ mela-
lakṣaṇaṃ[7] //

The *Yāmalatantra* has also given twelve kinds of *lakṣmaṇas*. Besides, the *Uddīśamahā-mantrodaya-tantra* describes different kinds of *veeṇā*, and they are : *tālanilaya*, *sallari*, *patana*, *maṇḍala*, *bheri-vighna*, *himila*, *thuthuka*, *mithakkthā*, *damaru*, *murava*, *aṅgulisphota*, *veeṇā*, *ālamani*, *rāvaṇahasta*, *udyanta*, *ghoṣāvatī*, *brahmaka*, etc. He says : '*Uddiśamahā-mantrodaya* appears to have been a work devoted to the rituals of worship of Śiva, under the name of *Uddiśa*. As usual with such works * *, dealing elaborately with musical instruments, 16 in number in 16 separate chapters'.

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7. (a) Vide *Nātyaśāstra* (kāśī ed.) 33. 15.

(b) Śāraṅgadeva mentions in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* about eleven kinds of *Veeṇā*, and they are :

तद्भेदास्त्वेकतन्त्री स्यान्नकुलश्च त्रितन्त्रिका ।
चित्रा-वीणा विपञ्ची च ततः स्यान्मत्तकोकिला ॥
आलापिनी किन्नरी च पिणाकीसंज्ञिता परा ।
निःशङ्कवीणेत्यद्याश्च शार्ङ्गदेवेन कीर्तिताः ॥

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The *Veeṇātantra* has described :

Ekaṇoviṁśaṃ veeṇākhya-tantraṃ lakṣa-
pramāṇakaṃ /
Nāda-brahmānanda-siddhir-yena siddhyati
vai nṛṇāṃ //[8]

MM. Rāmakṛṣṇa-kavi says that the names of the *veeṇās* have been mentioned in different *Purāṇas*, *Āgamas*, and *Tantras*. Ācārya Abhinavagupta has also discussed about *veeṇā* in the *Śrī-saṁhitā*. In some of the *Ɣāmalatantras*, *Pañcarātra* and *Śakti* and *Śaiva Tantras*, we find descriptions of the *veeṇā*. MM. Kavi says : 'Various *Purāṇas*, *Āgamas* and *Tantras* are devoted for *Gāndharva*. * * *Śrī-saṁhitā* is referred to by Abhinavagupta to treat *Gāndharva* at length. Regarding *Tantras* of *Śaiva*, *Pañcarātra*, *Śākteya* and *Ɣāmala*, only a portion of *Uddiśatantra* is available, which has 18 chapters on 18 kinds of musical instruments and it perhaps dealt with the whole seience. *Ɣāmalatantras* are 32 in number and several of them of unsual size are devoted to *Gāndharva*. These works were once available in Banaras in the library of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī and the 32nd *Tantra* is now extant which gives in 8000 verses, contents of all the then known works in Sanskrit'.[9]

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8. एकनोविंशं वीणाख्य-तन्त्रं लक्ष्य-प्रमाणकम् ।
नाद-ब्रह्मानन्द-सिद्धिर्येन सिद्धयति वै नृणाम् ॥
9. Vide *The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. III, July, 1928, pp. 26-27.

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Now, the four methods of playing the musical instruments and specially the *veeṇā* were developed from the *dhātus* like *saṁghāta*, *samavyāya*, *vistāra* and *anuvandha*. Besides these, there were four other *dhātus* like *viṣtāra*, *karaṇa*, *āviddha*, and *vyaṇjana* (vide *NS*. 29. 81-115). The two kinds of methods of playing the *veeṇā* were of heavy or higher (*guru*) and light or low (*laghu*) standards. The *vipañcī-veeṇā* was extensively used in the *gādhrava* type of dramatic music of the early Christian era. The term '*dhruvā*' might have been used to denote the rythmical music or the music with tempo or *laya* or *tāla*. Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) calls it the *sakala-vādya*, which is different from the *niṣkala-vādya*. The term '*kala*' denotes metre, *mātrā* or time-measure. The *sakala-vādya* or playing of the *veeṇā* with time divisions was considered as important in dance and drama. Bharata lays stress on the *vipañcī-veeṇā*, as it was the best medium of keeping the tempo in music.

As regards the methods of playing on the *veeṇā*, Bharata says that both the thumbs should touch the strings; the left thumb should rub (*pīḍana*), and the right one should be placed on the palm, faced downwards. The process, by which the string was plucked by the left thumb, was called *niṣkotitaṃ*, that, by which it was touched by the right palm, was known as *unmiṣtaṃ*, and when struck by all the fingers,

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the process went by the name of *repha*. The thumb and the little finger of the right hand, faced downward, were to touch the lower strings. The method of touching thumb, together with the little finger, was known as *puṣpaṃ*. Ten kinds of methods of playing were prevalent in Bharata's time (second century A.D.). The processes of *karaṇa* were of five kinds. Bharata says: '*iti daśavidhaḥ prajojya veeṇāyāṃ vyañjano dhātuḥ*' (29-95), and '*pañcavidho vijñeyo veeṇā-vādye karaṇa-dhātuḥ*'. (29-96). Śāraṅgadeva admits of a new *dhātu* of the *veeṇā*, which was known as *nāda*. It was produced by plucking or striking the strings of the *veeṇā*. Perfection in the art of playing the *veeṇā* has been indicated by Bharata's division of the microtones or *śrutis*, through the medium of two *veeṇās* of the same size, *cala* and *acala*. Perhaps it was he, who for the first time measured the length of the strings of the *veeṇā*, for determining the microtones, and thus made the position of the *veeṇā* unique in the domain of Indian music.

Different types of *veeṇā* of different sizes are found in the mural paintings and sculptures existing in various old cave temples and ancient Buddhist topes and *stūpas* in different parts of India. In Ajantā, Bhārhut, Sāñchi, Amarāvatī, Bhuvaneśvara, Nāgarjunakuṇḍa, Mahāvallipuram, Cidāmvaram, and in different parts of Bengal, we find paintings and bas-reliefs of the *veeṇās* in stones and terracottas, most of which are of the harp-

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type. The *veeṇās*, represented on the railings of the Bhārhut *stūpa*, were chiselled during the second century A.D., and that appearing in the Ajantā frescoes were painted between the second to seventh century A.D. The bow-type *veeṇā*, which is found impressed on a type of coins of the Emperor Samudragupta, is a representation of the instrument of the fourth century A.D. The *veeṇā*, excavated from the mounds of Rupar, is possessed of four strings. It has been stated by Y.D. Sharma in his accounts of *Exploration of Historical Sites* (vide *Ancient India*, No. 9, 1955, p. 126) : 'There are terracotta figurines in Śuṅga and Kushāna styles * * and include a seated figure of a lady playing on lyre reminiscent of Samudrgupta's figure in likewise position on his coins'. The sequence of cultural periods at Rupar has been divided into six, extending, from *circa* 2000-1400 B.C. to 1300-1700 A.D. The *veeṇa*, found in Rupar, dated from *circa* 200 B.C. to A.D. 600. The sculptural representations of the Gāndhāra and some of the Amarāvatī types of *veeṇās* (first-second century A.D.) look somewhat different from their counterparts of Ajantā and Bhārhut. They resemble the modern *saroda*, with three or four strings. The use of this *saroda* type of ancient *veeṇās* (*svara-veeṇās*) were also prevalent in Nāgarjunakuṇḍa in India, Tunhāng in China, Bāzākilk, Quizil, Turfān, Yotkān in Khotan, Russā, Barabodur, Champā, and other places of the Central, Middle, and East Asian countries.

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But in Mahāvallipuraṃ (seventh ceutury A.D.) and in different parts of Bengal (ninth-fourteenth century A.D.), we find designs of different *veeṇās*, having two gourds,—one at each end of the *daṇḍā*, and they were known as the *sarasvatī-veeṇā*. This type of *veeṇa* is also found in the sculptures of the Cidāmvaram temple. So it is found that the construction of the *veeṇa* underwent various modifications, to suit the taste and temperament of the peoples of different ages.

The Sanskrit treatises like *Saṅgīta-samyasāra* (ninth-eleventh century), *Saṅgīta-makaranda* fourteenth-sixteenth century), *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (thirteenth century) etc., have mentioned and described various types of *veeṇā*. Pārśadeva mentions *veeṇās* like *cala*, *kinnarī*, *laghūpūrvikā*, *vṛhat-kinnarikā*, etc. He has described ten methods of playing like *chanda*, *kāmakalā*, *Vasupūrvakā*, *gajalīlā*, *parivādanaṃ*, etc. He also deals with the methods of construction of different kinds of *veeṇā*, along with the *ekatantrī-veeṇā*, which is considered a favourite of Śaṅkara or Śiva. He further observes that the *ekatantrī-veeṇā* or lyre with single string is an important and ancient instrument.

Nārada of *Makaranda* mentions the *veeṇās* like *kacchapi*, *kubjikā*, *citrā*, *parivādinī*, *jayā*, *ghoṣāvatī*, *jyeṣṭhā*, *nakulī*, *mahatī*, *vaiṣṇavī*, *brāhmī*, *raudrī*, *rāvaṇī*, *sarasvatī*, *kinnarī*, *saurandrī*, *ghoṣakā*, etc.

Śāraṅgadeva describes two main types of *veeṇā*, *śruti* and *svara*. By *śruti-veeṇā*, he means the *veeṇā*, by which twenty-two microtones of

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the two ancient scales or *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*, were determined. He says :

Tatra Śrī Śāraṅgadevena śruti-veeṇodita pūrā /
Vakṣyate svara-veeṇātra * * * .//[10]

He describes the *veeṇās* like *ekatantrī*, *nakula-tritantrikā*, *citrā*, *vepāncī*, *mattokokilā*, *ālapanī*, *kinnarī*, *pinākī*, etc. He himself devised a new type of *veeṇā*, named after him, which is known as *Niśaṅka-veeṇā*. He describes elaborately about the methods of construction and playing of different kinds of *veeṇās* (vide the *ślokas* 104 to 340). Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) fully describes the *veeṇās*, in the third chapter, *veeṇā-prakaraṇaṃ* (*ślokas* 1-78), of his *Saramelakalānidhi*. He says that there should be a cross-bar or *daṇḍa*, with a gourd or *tumba* on the left-hand side, attached with a round piece of metal, called *nābhi*, and so on. He divides the *veeṇās* into three main heads and they are *śuddha-mela-veeṇā*, *madhya-mela-veeṇā* and *acyuta-rajendra-mela-veeṇā*. These three types of *veeṇā* differ only in their arrangements and names of the notes, according to their respective microtones. Rāmāmatya determines all the placed (*śuddha*) and displaced (*vikṛta*) notes, by means of four strings of a *veeṇā*, instead of twenty-two, adopted by Bharata. After Rāmāmatya, almost all the

10, तत्र श्रीशारङ्गदेवेन श्रुतिवीणोदिता पुरा * * वक्ष्यते स्वर-वीणात्र * * ॥

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musicologists of India dealt with the problem of *veeṇā*, as it formed the basic medium for the determination of the tones and microtones of the *rāgas* of Indian music. So, it can be said that all the stringed instruments (*tata-yantra*) of India have their origin in the *veeṇā*. The ancient *kacchapī* or *kāśyapī* is known in the modern times as the *kacuā-sitār*. *Kacchapī* is sometimes termed as the *veeṇā* of the goddess Sarasvatī. The *tritantrī-veenā* is somewhat similar to the *kacchapī-veeṇā*. The difference between the *kacchapī* and the *kinnarī* lies in the number of their strings and structures. The former contains five to seven strings, whereas the latter only five. The *kinnarī* was known as the *kinnara*, in the land of the Jews. The *rabāb* is also a kind of *veeṇā*, known as *rudra-veeṇā*. In Afghanisthān and Persia, the *rudra-veeṇā* is called the '*rabāb*', and in Arabia, it is known as '*rubāb*'. The Sanskrit name of the *saroda* is *śāradīyā-veeṇā*, and it is played by the plectrum (*koṇa*), instead of finger (*aṅguli*). The *sura-śṛṅgāra* is also a kind of *veeṇā*, and it is said that *veeṇkāra* Peeyār Khāṅ constructed this instrument, out of the *veeṇās*, *mahatī*, *kacchapī*, and *rudra*. The *sura-bāhāra* is also a changed form of the *kacchapī*. *Tumburu*, *tamburā* or *tānapurā* is known as the *tumburu-veeṇā*, The *nādeśwara-veeṇā* looks like the violin, but its arrangements of the strings and frets are like those of the *kacchapī*. We get also the names of the *veeṇās*, *bharata* and

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prasaranī. It is said that the *bharata-veeṇā* was fashioned out of the *veeṇā*, *rudra* and *kacchapī*.

Different postures are adopted for playing different kinds of *veeṇā*, but generally two of them are common, and they are vertical (*urdhava*) and horizontal (*śayāṇa*). In ancient paintings and sculptures, oblique postures of the *veeṇās* are sometimes found and they have also been mentioned in the Sanskrit treatises. In South India, sacred traditions are observed in the method of playing the ascending and descending notes first, then the *svarāvalī*, *geetaṃ*, *varṇaṃ* and *kīrtanaṃ* are consecutively practised or played. The rhythm and tempo of the *veeṇā* are kept by *pakhowāj* or *mṛdaṅgaṃ*. The body of the *veeṇā* is generally made of jackwood, rosewood or sandelwood nowadays. The frets are made of steel or bronze. A wood or ivory bridge is also attached to the sound board. Accoustical uniformity and balance are strictly observed, along with the geometrical accuracy, in the case of freting and measuring the length of the brass or silver and steel wires, so as to produce distinct, sweet and pleasing sounds. Seven strings are common, but more than seven are also found in the modern *veeṇā*. On the the basic principles of harmony, the fundamental frequency of the sounds is always observed in the method of playing, to produce accurate vibrations of the tones. The tonal values of the basic strings are multiplied and enriched by

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harmonies of upper partials. The main intervals of just intonation in the *saptakas* are observed to realize the exact frequency ratios from the fundamental, and upon it depends the real temperament and spirit of the tones and tunes of the *veeṇās*.

The musicologists (*śāstrakāras*) divide *veeṇā* into two main classes, *śuddha-mela* and *madhya-mela*. They have again classified them into two, *akhila-rāgamela* and *eka-rāgamela*. The *akhila-rāgamela* means the *veeṇā* with *vajra* or *acala* (unshifted) *thāta*, and all the *rāgas* are produced in this *thāta*. But in the *eka-rāgamela*, different *rāgas* are produced, and the frets are shiftable in it. In the *veeṇā*, one more *saptaka* (Western 'octave') is used under the *mandra-saptaka* (*udārā*), and it is known as '*anu-mandra-sthāna*'. Now, if we illustrate the different *sthānas* (frets and wires) in the *veeṇā*, we find the bases of the notes in the frets as,

CHART

mandra-ma	*mandra-sa*	*anu-mandra-pa*	*anu-mandra-sa*
			The notes on the *meru*
Mṛdu-pa	śuddha-ri	śuddha-dha	1 śuddha-ri
śuddha-pa	śuddha-ga	śuddha-ni	2 śuddha-ga
o	śuddha-ga	kaiśika-ni	3 sādhāraṇa-ga
śuddha-dha	mṛdu-ma	mṛdu-sa	4 mṛdu-ma
śuddha-ni	śuddha-ma	śuddha-sa	5 śuddha-ma
kaiśika-ni			
mṛdu-sa	mṛdu-pa	śuddha-ri	6 mṛdu-pa

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It should be remembered that this chart has been prepared mostly according to the dictum of *Rāgavivodha* of Paṇḍit Somanāth. (1609 A.D.), The notes are changeable in different *veeṇās*, according to the changes of their frets.

South India has preserved, even to this date, the sacred traditions of *veeṇā* playing, whereas in the North it is somewhat neglected. The *veeṇa* is an instrutment very difficult to handle. Earnest, sincere and protracted practice like that of spiritual *sādhanā* is necessary to attain proficiency in it. Śāraṅgadeva says in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*,

Darśana-sparśane cāsyā bhoga-svargāpavargade /
Punīto vipra-hatyādi-pātakaiḥ patitaṃ janaṃ //
Daṇḍa śambhu-rūmā tantrī kakubhaḥ
kamalāpatiḥ /
Indrā patrikā brahmā tumbaṃ nābhiḥ sarasvatī //
Ḍorako vāsukīrjivā sudhāṁśuḥ-sārikā rabiḥ /
Sarva-devamayī tasmad-veeṇeyaṃ sarva-
maṅgalā / /[11]

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11. दर्शन-स्पर्शने चास्या भोग-स्वर्गापवर्गदे ।
पुनीतो विप्रहत्यादि-पातकैः पतितं जनम् ॥
दण्ड शम्भु-रूमा तन्त्री ककुभः कमलापतिः ।
इन्दिरा पत्रिका ब्रह्मा तुम्बं नाभिः सरस्वती ॥
डोरको वासुकीर्जिव्रा सुधांशुः सारिका रविः ।
सर्वदेवमयी तस्माद्वीणेयं सर्वमङ्गला ॥
सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर (वाद्याध्याय) ६।५६

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That is, by seeing and touching the *veeṇā*, one attains the sacred region and liberation. It purifies the sinner, who is even guilty of killing a Brāhmin. The *daṇḍa*, made of wood or bamboo, is Śiva, the string is Devī Umā, the shoulder is Viṣṇu, the bridge is Lakṣmī, the gourd is Brahmā, the navel is Sarasvatī, the connecting wires are Vāsukī, the jīva is the moon, and the pegs are the sun. The *veeṇā* thus represents nearly all the gods and godesses, and is, therefore, capable of bestowing all kinds of divine blessings, benediction and auspiciousness. By practising the sacred *veeṇā*, one can harmonize both the mundane and supra-mundane lives, and make himself free from delusion and bondage of all sorts for ever and ever. The practice of *veeṇā* should, therefore, be revived and raised to its pristine glory, and should be looked upon as means to an end.

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Chapter Eleven

IDEAL OF INDIAN MUSIC

Music is an art. It represents the divine beauty and grandeur of creation—the Art of God. The *Upaniṣad* says that God is the greatest Poet and Ordainer : '*kaviṃ purāṇaṃ anuśāsitāraṃ*', and this gigantic universe is a poetical piece, composed by Him. The intrinsic beauty and glory of this wonderful poetical piece is expressed by music, and so it is the greatest art.

Music is a kind of balmy medicine that heals the aching hearts of men and animals, and removes the pangs of the suffering multitude. In the antique days, the primitive men and women used to sing and dance in the midst of their multifarious activities, and deep cares and anxieties. They sang and dance, because they found solace in their distress or disapointment or tedium, in them. The peoples of Vedic and classical days acquired the habit of singing and dancing, to enliven their society and culture. The tradition of ancient music passed through different levels in the ancient and mediaeval times, and the same is maintained even to this day with new inhovations. The peoples still find happiness and peace in it inspite of the toils, turmoils and trials of their earthly lives.

A great Western philosopher has said that

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man is a storehouse of emotions or sensations, which build him, lead him, and inspire him throughout his life. A man works, being motivated by the inspiration of his will. He designs a plan of his work, before he does it outwardly. His will is the force-centre and prime-mover of anything he intends to do, nay, it is the designer of his life, personality, and character. The musicology tells us that will creates music, and music allures the mind of all living beings, and makes them divine in this earth. But there lies a difference between the will-to-work and will-to-music, as the former creates the nets of desires that bind men in the den of delusion, while the latter makes him free from the fetters of desires, which is no other than nescience. The musicology states that sound is like the physique with flesh and blood, whereas vital force or *mukhya-prāṇa* is the *psyche* or soul of music. The sound represents two-fold aspects, causal and gross : the causal, being unmanifested, is imperceptibe, and the gross is perceptible, and is known as 'music'. The gross sound comes out through the vocal chord, and enriches itself with tones, microtones, modes, melodies, rhythm and tempo, and aesthetic sentiments. It is mainly known by its richest ingredient, melody or *rāga*, that evolves from the combination and permutation of notes. In India, the *rāga* reached climax. The intuitive artists saw in their ecstatic vision the living forms of the

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rāgas, and the poets composed their colourful contemplative *dhyānas*. Music in India is, therefore, recognised as spiritual food and divine blessing to men and women, and by its practice they attain immortality even while in their mortal frames. The human soul finds in it the goal of its seemingly unending journey, and gets tranquility and everlasting bliss.

Indian Music admits the theory of evolution, and though it underwent various changes in different periods, yet it maintains an unifying principle and basic ideal of its own. It developes some new and novel manifestations, unifies them, and makes them fit for proper appreciation by the society. Its highest function is to create aesthetic beauty, and bring through it the real peace and enjoyment in the minds of those, who listen to, and appreciate it. As a painter draws at firsts a bare outline of a portrait, and then fills it up with colours, moods, and graces, so an artist of Indian music first designs a skeletal form of a melody or *rāga*, by the arrangements of tones and tunes, and then enriches it with *mūrcchānā*, *alaṁkāra*, *tāna*, *gamaka*, *meeḍs*, etc. First there comes an outline of motif in the way of creation or manifestation of a *rāga*, and then follows the process of ornamentation. But mere construction and ornamentation are not the entire thing for the representation of a melodic pattern or *rāga*, it requires something more to infuse life in it, and

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to energise it. Creation of a thing is meaningless, without proper understanding and enjoyment of its beauty and grandeur. As God the Almighty creates the universe to enjoy His own greatness and beauty, so an artist of music creates music to appreciate and enjoy the inner significance of his own creation.

Now, what do we mean by the word 'appreciation'? To appreciate a thing means to get into the very core of the thing, to commune with the thing, or to become one with the thing. As for example, when we appreciate a picture, we first get into the motif of the picture, and then into its intrinsic beauty and divine grace. So, when we appreciate music, which is the combination of words, tune, rhythm and tempo, grace and sentiment, we first hold on to the compact of music, and then get into it, loose our separate entity into it, and become one with it. And that is the meaning or significance of the appreciation of music. The process of appreciation does not know any diversion, or separation, or difference, but it creates a permanent inseparable bond that makes the singer and the listner an undivided one. The Indian Yoga psychology calls this process of appreciation, concentration and meditation. So, when we appreciate music, we first concentrate and meditate upon the compact of music, and then become one with it. So the nature of Indian music is intros-

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pective. It moves gracefully upwards and downwards from a fixed point, and completes its circuit, keeping eyes to the sonant, which forms the life-force of the melodies and their manifestations. The accompanying musical instruments are tuned or tempered with the drone. It is a special feature of Indian music to make an amity with the concordant notes, and to avoid the discordant ones, using properly the sonant (*aṁśa* or *vādī*), the assonant (*anuvādī*), and the consonant (*samvādī*). The sonant is known as the king or ruler, the consonant, the minister and the dissonant, the enemy. Synthesis is its keynote, and it leads the intuitive artists and lovers of music towards the realisation of the transcendantal beauty.

Indian music is mainly based upon melody or *rāga*,[1] whereas the Western music is principally founded on harmony. Melody means a succession of single sounds, the harmony is the simulteneous production of chords and different tones or sounds. T. P. Kṛṣṇa Rāo clarifies this difference in his book *The Psychology of Music*: 'It is the melody of Indian music alone that

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1. It should be noted that 'melody' of the Western music is not the correct synonym of '*rāga*' of the Indian music, as Indian *rāga* conveys more deep significance and meaning than what melody does. Indian melody is more than a means or a process, and it is an end in itself.

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can express internal emotions faithfully, and it is harmony of the West that can express the external emotion. Melody primarily succeeds emotion, while harmony precedes it. Harmony lets emotion in, and melody lets it out. Melody unites or repels the hearts, while harmony unites them with nature'. We thus find a fundamental difference between the two systems of music, Indian and Western. But Indian and Western systems of music appear different not only in respects of melody and harmony, but also in many other respects. Indian music weaves a fabric of systematic and scientific evolution of notes, seminotes, melody types or *rāgas*, music-parts or *dhatus*, graces, and aesthetic emotions and moods. The nature of Indian music is to move round the drone, which is known as the primal and fundamental note. It is called foundational, because it helps to manifest and develop the notes other than it. It may be said to be a centre of unification, and all other notes are harmoniously bound up with and related to it. It is rather recognised as a synthetic force-centre that brings unity in diversity.

A little insight will show that Indian music lends to the artists ample freedom and liberty, to evolve and create new and original techniques and forms of music. Though it is true that Indian music follows some prescribed rules and injunctions for making it manifest, yet there is immense

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scope for new creation. Western music, in this respect, is rigid, to some extent. In the West, the artists have no free hand to create and produce music, as they are bound to reproduce the fixed notations, given by the composers. They cannot even extemporise, when giving a demonstration of composed music. But it must be admitted freely, however, that the orchestration of their music is as rich and unique as it is beautiful, and the harmony rendered in their music is wonderful. Indian music has, on the other hand, a very broad vision. It never ignores the independent status of the artist's creative genius, rather it is fully aware of the fact that freedom is the inner essence of man, and he has every right of freedom in his choice of beauty and colourful artistic creation. The new light of freedom and independence has dawned upon the horizon of India. In this age of renaissance, the old stereotyped things are being replaced by the new and novel ones, and new hope, spirit and aspiration are gathering upon the fading past.

The music of India has reached its climax, after passing through many changes in various ages, and yet it requires additions and alterations,—a vision of reconstruction and synthetic creation. Indian music has not only been elevated by the contribution of the Persians and the Mughal Durbārs, in the mediaeval period, but it has also been enriched and

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reformed by the Aryans and non-Aryans of India, from time immemorial. Fusion of culture makes the nerves of a nation strong and vigourous, and brings about novelty of thoughts and ideas in the society. Indian music is, in this respect, very liberal in its outlook, and broad in its vision, as it embraces all the elements, indigenous and foreign, to make its form and volume perfect and rich.

This is an epoch of revival and reconstruction; this is an age of science and reason. The Indian music should now march through a new course, and take a new drive, adapting itself to the taste and temperament of the present changing dynamic society. The *prabandha* type of the *dhruvapada gīti* is unique and divine, but its present monotonous demonstration has made it unpleasant to the masses. The artists of the *dhrupapada* are sometimes found to take recourse to the mechanical feats of bare techniques like intricate *bātas*, etc., to the detriment of its ideal, sweetness and aesthetic beauty, and as such it is fast becoming a dead art,—an art of the past, in the present music society. It is deplorable as well as pathetic.

The classical *kheyāl* type of songs, which is apt to create an atmosphere of wonder and grace, with its artistic composition and intricate *tānas*, has also fallen from its high pedastal, has lost its real spirit and creative impulse, along

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with its prime aims and objects. Its demonstration sometimes appear to be too heavy and mechanical, and the unbalanced limitless *tānas* and *gitkārīs* destroy the basic structure of *rāga* and its sense of proportion and intrinsic beauty. So, in presenting Indian music, earnest efforts should be made to keep its spirit and ideal before the eyes. *Thumrī*, *tappā*, and other types of song have undoubtedly won the hearts of the music-lovers, but yet sometimes they are sung monotonously, devoid of real perspective and motive. The *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal, *kīrtana*, *padam*, and other types of songs of South India, and *bhajana* and other religio-devotional songs are appreciated by the people at large, but some of the artists are devoid of the sense of creating a religious atmosphere in their songs. They mostly lack spiritual insight, and so their efforts result in failure. It is, however, not a destructive criticism of, or a challenge to the worshippers of fine arts, but is only a plea, for restoring or reviving the sublime ideal and true spirit of glorious Indian music.

Everything happens in this world with a motive behind. There is no aimless marching, or an ascidental happening anywhere, in this vast universe. Culture of music, in the same way, has an object, which must be directed towards the good and welfare of the human society at large. Men of all ages and climes

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consider music as the greatest midium for artistic expression, which is not found, in the same way, in the domain of literature, sculpture, painting, and architecture. And, so, music has been called the 'universal language' that speaks not only to the ears of living beings, but also to their hearts, with an immediate emotional and spiritual appeal.

Then the question necessarily arises wherein lies the greatness of the art of music. The answer is, not merely it lies in the fascinating combination of words (*sāhitya*) and tunes (*sura*) of music, but in the proper representation of its spirit that brings out its real significance and value. The greatness of music depends upon its efficient and artistic rendering and creation, and, consequently upon the selective faculty of the intuitive artists. So the artists should be fully aware as to how to create and represent the art of music, with their minds wide open to the sense of proportion, beauty and real value of musIc. They should first attain proficiency in history, science, theory, psychology, and aesthetic philosophy of music, and then realize the true significance of the art. Otherwise, it will be a meaningless and aimless reproduction of tones and tunes, resulting in a blind imitation, destitute of life and motive force.

Music of any kind, of any country, should not be burdened with mere mechanical techniques and textures, but it should be of deep significance,

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The artists of music should know that music is a common property, and all have a claim and right to get a share in it, to enjoy it, and to consider it as the means of solace and everlasting peace. It should be properly handled, and distributed with a keen sense of beauty, together with proportion and balance. The artists of music should again keep their minds open as to the receiving capacity and depth of appreciative sense of the listeners. They should bear in mind that music should always be made sweet and suitable to the taste of both the special and general classes of listerners. Music, classical or folk—urban or rural, must not be set apart for a selected community or chosen class of people, but its appeal should be made universal, bearing in the mind the beautiful motto that music is an universal language that speaks to all classes of listeners, irrespective of caste, creed, and denominations.

Divine beauty and solemnity lie within the core of music itself, but as they naturally remain latent and unmanifested, they shall be made potent and manifest, by efficient and intelligent handling. The vibrations of tones and tunes create impressions in men and animals, and colour the mind in the form of sensation and feeling. Artists should know how to vitalize the music and to apply it for the practical utility of the human society at large. Music should, therefore, be looked upon

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as an applied art and science, and be cultured with the purpose of creating a novelty in presentation. It must not be bound up with a chain of rigid rules and restrictions, but should be made mobile, with scope for additions and alterations, when and where necessary. The taste and temperament of the modern society should not be ignored or overlooked. We should bear in mind that the reigns of Il-tut-mish, Ālā-ud-dīn khaljī, Sultān Husain Sharqī, Muhammed Shāh, Ākbar and others are long over. The English rule too has come to an end. Renaissance has downed over the horizon of independent India, and its light has brought new hope, and new aspirations in the hearts of her people. Now the awakened soul of India should be invoked, to infuse new light and new spirit, in the body of the present system of Indian musie. Barriers of narrowness of the age old petrified ideas and prejudices should be removed and rectified, and all the talents of India and abroad should put their heads together, with a sprit of amify and love, for a comparative study and proper development of music.

India's contribution to the domain of culture and civilisation is immense. Whether be it in literature, poetry, philosophy, religion, spirittuality, and positive science, or in the field of sculpture, painting, and music. Though these arts differ from one another, in their modes of expression and representation, yet their intrinsic

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value, abiding essence, and basic principle are one and the same, and all of them draw inspiration and aesthetic impetus from one fountain-head. Rāi Bāhādur Ramāprasād Chanda cherishes the same opinion when he says that we cannot appreciate the beauty or power of aesthetic rapture and emotion (*rasa* and *bhāva*) in anything, until art is created. It is true that a medium is necessary to express the real value and beauty of the Fine Arts. Tones and tunes have been chosen as the medum in music, words in poetry, structures of buildings in architecture, chiselled images in sculpture, and colours, lines, and drawing in painting. Through all these media, beauty of Nature is apperceived and appreciated. The beauty of Nature is the basis of all expressions of art. Besides the medium, there is an ideal in Indian art. Because a medium or means expresses the gross material skeleton, flesh and blood of art, whereas, ideal reveals its life-force or spirit.

The ideal of Indian art is to represent the idealistic and spiritualistic aspects of an object, and at the same time illumine its realistic phase. As for example, the Buddhist art of India designed the stone image of Lord Buddha in a posture of meditation, which apparently shows no great artistic ability and brilliance in its owtward representation, but marvellously reveals the inward depth of spirituality, calmness, serenity, and repose, which the Greco-Roman

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art fails to exhibit. The French indologist Growsset prefers to call this phase of Buddhist art as the Romāno-Buddhist art of Gāndhāra. Dr. Rādhākamal Mukherjee draws a line of distinction between the arts, Greco-Roman and Romāno-Buddhist. He says that the first is relatively static and insipid, and is marked by the emphasis on anthropomorphism and individualism, and the assimilation of symbols and motifs from the contemporary art of the Roman Orient, rather than by the Indian spirituality and idealism. Whereas the second one under the influence of Mahāyāna idealism breathes a purely Buddhist-Indian spirit although the technique is Hellenic. The Buddha and the Bodhisattva master-pieces of the second school of Gāndhāra exhibit profound Indian piety that subdues Hellenism. 'The art of Gāndhāra', estimaties Dr. Mukherjee, 'achieved its maturity by the end of the first century A.D. and continued to influence India through the schools of Mathurā, Vidiśā and Sāranāth up to the 5th century. * * The influence of the art school of North-West India and the Kābul valley, characterised by a fusion of Hellenism and Hinduism in the cosmopolitan Kushān world, penetrated to every nook and corner of India in the course of five centuries'. Such is also the case with Indian music, which is markedly distinguishable in its form, ideal and beauty, from the music of the other countries.

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Though Indian music appears realistic in its presentation, yet it breathes spirituality. It brings Heaven down to the earth, and uplifts the mind of every earthly being. The history of Vedic India reminds us of the spiritual legacy of the sacred *sāman* chants. The adept chanters of hoary antiquity used to sing the *sāmans*, in praise of Agni, Varuna, Indra, Mitra, and other gods, and although they aimed at material prosperity on the surface, yet their main object was to attain spiritual illumination. Music of India has preserved that solemn tradition and ideal, all through the ages, and so the authors on music have laid the greatest emphasis upon its spiritual side. They say that practice of music is a *sādhanā*, which unfolds the grand mystery of human life.

Music of India, whether Northern or Southern, is, therefore, a divine art. It constitutes the object of a psycho-material principle, and creates an objective beauty of the subjective divinity, that inspires the artists to attain a vision of the transcendental beauty. In fact, the art of music makes it possible for its votaries to commune with Nature, and discloses the unplumed deeps of its mystery. It animates human ideas, and brings perfect balance between inner tranquility and outward activity. The ideal of music is, therefore, to get the highest and yet the sweetest means to man's ultimate end. It promises to rescue the people at large, from

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the dark den of delusion, and confers upon them the blessings of permanent peace and eternal happiness, even in this world of nescience.

Indian music recognizes the methods of philosophical, religious, and spiritual disciplines. It recognises both the Yoga system of Patañjali and the mystic practices of the Ṭantra philosophy. It says that its culture and knowledge are not meant for fleeting material and intellectual pleasures, nor does it rest content merely with an intellectual construction and reproduction, as the Western music does in many cases. Its principal objective is to dissociate the mind from the worries and anxieties and sordid selfish interests of this transient world, and to help the artists and audiences to concentrate their minds and thereby attain spiritual conciousness.

It is also to be remembered that India is the home of infinite tolerance and universal love. Inspite of innumerable battles, that caused streams of blood to flow over her holy breast, and inspite of that gory stain, she has kept shedding, as she was wont to do in the glorious past upon friend and for alike, the light of culture, peace, harmony, justice and mercy, for which the whole world is now hankering. The Music of India should follow the same path now, and create an atmosphere of serenity, spirituality, inner vision and sublime peace. India is not a land of mere dream, or imagination, or imitation, but she bears within her breast the

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living inspiration for new creation. Indian music shall, therefore, march onward, singing the song of newness and novelty. It should not be looked upon as a mere exhibition of sounds and rhythms, but it should be considered as a means to an end, and be raised to the high level of 'Education', which alone can help to build the character and moral power of a nation. Then and then only the greatness and real significance of Indian music will be realised, and then and then only human society will be lifted to the Hamālayan height, undreamt of even in her glorious past.

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APPENDIX

DEVELOPMENT OF NOTES AND SCALES OF VEDIC MUSIC

By 'Vedic Music' is meant the music of the Sāmeveda, or *sāmagāna*, that evolved out of the *ṛcs* or stanzas or verses of the Ṛkveda, set to tunes. Now, what is '*sāma*'? Sāyaṇa says in the commentary on the Yajurveda :' पादश्च गीतिः। * * हाउ इत्यादिकं साम यजुर्वेदे गीतम्। * * पादेनार्धर्चेनोपेता वृत्तवद्धा मन्त्राः ऋचः। गीतिरूपा मन्त्राः सामानि'। He also describes many of the *sāmas* or *sāmans* like *rathantara*, *vṛhat*, *vairūpa*, *raivata*, etc. Kātyāyana says : 'ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि निगदा मन्त्राः' (१।४५)। Ācārya Karka makes explicit the meaning of the '*sāma*' or *sāman*, when he says : 'प्रगीतं मन्त्रवाक्यं सामेत्युच्यत। * * अतः पूर्वप्रतीतत्वाद्गीतिरेव सामशब्देनाभिलक्ष्यते'। In the Sāmic period, the *ṛcs* or stanzas were sung and chanted either with three register or base notes, *anudātta*, *svarita*, and *udātta*. The register or base notes, *anudātta*, *svarita*, and *udātta*, or grave or bass, circumflex or medium, and high or acute were used as the accent-tones for the speech-music or recitation only. The *sāman* notes, *prathama*, etc. were quite distinct from them in their characteristic and tonal value. The authors of the *Prātiśākhyas* say that the *sāmans* were the combination of *vāc* and *prāṇa*,

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—speech and vital air, which have been conceived as *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* in the Indian philosophy.

In the process of evolution of both the Vedic base notes or accent tones and the *sāman* tones, several strata are discernible. After the evolution of the five *sāman* notes, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, and *mandra*, the octave i.e. *saptaka* was completed with addition of the lower sixth, *atisvārya*, and the upper seventh, *kruṣṭa*. Besides the principal notes, *prathama*, etc., there were some optional or secondary notes, such as, *jātya* or independent, *abhinihita* or absorbed, *kṣaipra* or hastned, *praślisṭa* or constructed, etc. The principal notes were called the *prakṛti* ones, while the optional or secondary notes the *vikṛti* ones.[1] The *Taittīriya-prātiśākhya* further prescribes seven varieties of sound-tones for the *sāmagāna*. They are *upāṅśu* or inaudiable, *dhvani* or murmur. *nimada* or whisper, *upamidamat* or numbling, *mandra* or soft, *madhya* or middle, and *tāra* or loud.

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1. Shri K. Vāsudeva Śāstrī is of opinion that it appears extremely probable that the notes of the Sāmaveda are all *prakṛti svaras* but with the *śrutis* constituting each *svara* or note arranged in a descending order so that the lowest *śruti* of each note become the dominant *śruti* of that note. Considered in this light, it will be found, if we take into account the composition of *prakṛti svaras* that the lowest *śruti* of each *svara* is the highest one or very nearly that, of each of the notes of *Kharaharapriyā* or *Kāfi*.—*The Science of Music* (Tānjore, 1954), pp. 71-72.

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The early songs were monotonous and recitative in nature, but gradually they were developed into music proper, with the development and growth of intellect and creative faculty of man in the society. Mainly three transitional phases are found in the evolution of songs of yore. They are: (a) speech, (b) speech-music or recitation, and (c) song proper. The Vedic music was a developed and systematic one, and it possessed some rhythmic process and harmonic relation between the notes. The *sāmans* were sung in descending order, and it may be said that it was the characteristic of the songs of the ancient nations of the world. The ancient Greek scale was also in a descending order (*avarohana-gati*) like F E D C B A G. The *Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa* states: 'क्रष्टादहः उत्तरोत्तरं नीचा भवन्ति। M. S. Rāmaswāmī Āiyār advances six reasons in its favour. They are: (a) यः सामगानां प्रथमः स वेनोर्मध्यमः स्वरः etc., as advocated by Nārada in the *Śikṣā*, in the first century A.D., (b) क्रुष्टादयः उत्तरोत्तरं नीचा भवन्ति as advocated by the *Sāmatantra*, (c) तेषां दीप्तिजोपलब्धिः as stated by the *Taittīriya-prātiśākhya*, XXIII. 14., (d) The fact that in vocal music, the telling notes are necessarily high, (e) The fact that the *sāmagāna* is sung even today in a descending order, (f) The very nature of a seed is to sprout forth first, downward, and then, upward. Now, the pitches or tone-qualities of the notes of the *sāmagāna* were realised by their respective '*dīptiḥ*' or 'gradual lightening up', which means the gra-

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dual sharpening or hightening. They are known as *'yamas'* or regulators. Śaunaka says in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* : **'सप्त स्वरा ये यमास्ते।** The term *'yama'* connotes the idea of 'controlling', 'collecting', or 'binding together'. This term was adopted by Patañjali (150 B.C.) in his *Yogasūtra* (1.2.29), for controlling the senses, in order to prepare the ground for the attainment of perfect balance of mind, and apprehension of the Divine intuition by an aspirant. Śaunaka also adopts it in the *sāman* songs for controlling or bringing balance in the tunes or sweet sound-vibrations of the *sāmagāna*, and as the notes control or conduct the tunes of the *sāmans*, they are known as *'yama'*.

The *yamas* are seven in number, and all the annotators and commentators, including Śaunaka, Nārada, Uvata and Sāyaṇa have admitted these seven *yamas* or *sāman* notes. The seven notes were *kruṣṭa*, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *mandra* and *atisvārya*. Both Gārga Gopālayajjva and Prof. Whitney consider the *tṛtīya* or the third as the medium, and the upper seventh, first, and second notes as higher or sharper in gradation, i.e. *utkṣipta*, *utkṣiptatara* and *utkṣiptatama*, or sharp, sharper and sharpest, and the lower fourth, fifth and sixth notes as lesser or lower in gradation, i.e. *avakṣipta*, *avakṣiptatara*, and *avakṣiptatama*, or low, lower, and lowest. This process of gradual sharpening (*dīpti*) goes a long way to prove that the singers of the Vedic music used seven notes in their *sāmagāna*, though

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commonly three, four or five notes were used in most of the *sāmans*. The *Puspasūtra* also admits this fact, when it states,

एतैर्भावैस्तु गायन्ति सर्वाः शाखाः पृथक्-पृथक्।
पञ्चस्वेव तु गायन्ति भूयिष्ठानि स्वरेषु तु॥
सामानि षट्सु चान्यानि सप्तसु द्वे तु कौथुमाः।

From the above lines it is evident that different recensions (*śākhās*) of the Vedas used different numbers of note. Specially the Kauthuma recension used seven notes in two particular *gānas* : 'सप्तसु स्वरेषु द्वे सामानि गीयते कौथुमः शाखिनाम्'। It will thus be seen that the *sāmans* differed from one another in their modes and forms with regard to the use of different notes, and though the *aüḍava* or pentatonic form of the *sāmans* were mostly sung by the Vedic singers, yet *ṣāḍava* or hexatonic, and *sampūrṇa* or heptatonic forms of the *sāmans* were also prevalent in the Vedic society. The notes of the *sāmans* were surcharged with exalted emotions, sublime sentiments, and mystic moods, which used to create a supra-mundane spiritual atmosphere during singing.

Nārada also describes the seven *sāman* notes. He says that they were both in descending and reverse order such as ; ma ga ri sa/dha ṇi pa. He observes :

यः सामगानां प्रथमः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः।
यो द्वितीयः स गान्धारस्तृतीयस्त्वृषभः स्मृतः॥

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चतुर्थः षड्ज इत्याहुः पञ्चमो धैवतो भवेत् ।
षष्ठे निषादो विज्ञेयः सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः ॥

Nārada here mentions two kinds of *gānas*, *vaidika* and *laukika*, in the terms of *veeṇā* and *veṇu*. The *veeṇā* (which belongs to the Western lyre class) was a very aristrocratic musical stringed instrument of ancient India, having various forms, and used a supporting instrument of the Vedic music, *sāmagāna*, whereas *veṇu* or *vaṁśa* (flute class of musical wind instrument, made of bambao, wood or bone) was used as a supporting instrument of the folk as well as formalised *laukika* or *deśī* music. Nārada's contention is that the notes of the *veeṇā* i.e. Vedic music were equivalent to those of the folk and formalised *deśī* music. Nārada has also determined five microtonal units like *dīptā*, *āyatā*, *karuṇā*, *mṛdu* and *madyā* for the notes, and they were afterwards recognised as the casual microtones or *jātis* of the twenty-two microtones, as devised by Muni Bharata, in the second century A.D. The notes used to manifest in three registers, and they possessed ten qualities like *sukumāra*, *lāvanya*, etc. (गानस्य तु दशविधा गुणवृत्तिः). Now, though Nārada determines those microtonal units, registers and ten qualities for the *laukika* notes, yet they might be used also in the equivalent Vedic notes.

Regarding the reverse order or *vakra-gati* mode of the *sāman* notes, some scholars differ

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in their opinions. Paṇḍit Lakṣmaṇa Śaṅkara Bhatta-Drāviḍa favours the straight descending process, instead of the crooked one or *vakra-gati* scale, which is ma ga ri sa/ṇi ḍha pa. But M. S. Rāmaswāmī Āiyār and others favour *vakra-gati* scale, which, according to them, has the confirmation of Nārada in his another statement: 'प्रादेशिन्यां तु गान्धारः ऋषभस्तदनन्तरम्'। Rāmaswāmī Āiyār is of opinion that Nārada's intentional reversal of the order of '*dha*' and '*ni*' has created a new series of notes: 'pa ma ga ri sa dha ni', together with addition of *kruṣṭa* as the higher note than *prathama*, and the previous inversion of the pitch order of '*dha*' and '*ni*' has also been maintained in the new series. And it is also found in most of the available readings of the *Nāradī-śikṣā* of various private collections that the reversal order of the notes of the *sāmans* (ma ga ri sa/ḍha ṇi pa) has been maintained. But some scholars hold a different view. They say that according to the dictum of the *Triratnabhāṣya*: 'तेषां खलु सप्तयमानाम् उत्तरोत्तर-दीप्तिजा पूर्व-पूर्वोपलब्धिः स्यात्। तत् कथम्; अतिस्वार्य-दीप्तिजा मन्द्रोपलब्धिः, मन्द्रोश्चतुर्थोपलब्धिः, चतुर्थात् तृतीयः, तृतीयात् द्वितीयः, द्वितीयात् प्रथमः, प्रथमात् कुष्टः उपलभ्यते', the inverted order 'ma ga ri sa/ḍha ṇi pa' should be in the regular one like 'ma ga ri sa/ṇi ḍha pa', as we find in the ancient Greek

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scale, and this regular or uncrooked order has also been maintained throughout in the *ślokas* 8 to 14 of the *Māṇḍukī-śikṣā* of the Artharva-veda.

Sāyaṇa has devised altogether a different order of the *sāman* notes, in his commentary on the *Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa*. He says; 'यो निषादः स कृष्टः, धैवतः प्रथमः, पञ्चमो द्वितीयः, मध्यम-स्तृतीयः, गान्धारश्चतुर्थः, ऋषभो मन्द्रः, षड्जोऽतिस्वार्य इति'। This arrangement of notes seems to be of latter origin. It is generally found that the songs (*gānas*) always have their bases in the scales, and that the Sāmavedic scale was constituted out of the arrangements of the notes in different registers like bass, medium and high, and it has already been said that it was in the downward movement (*avarohana-gati*). Some hold the view that there were two phases in the evolution of the Sāmavedic scale: 'first', says the philosopher-musicologist Thākur Jaidev Singh, 'in which only three or four notes were used, second, in which three more notes were added. Thus the full Sāmavedic scale of seven notes was evolved'. He again adds: 'There is a further proof in support of the above theory. An analysis of the notation of various songs of Sāmaveda clearly reveals the fact that most of the *sāmans* use only three to four notes, a few use five notes, very few six, and the *sāmans* using all the seven notes are extremely rare'. This has been supported by Nārada's another

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statement : '(द्वि) तृतीय-प्रथम-क्रुष्टान् कुर्वन्त्याहुश्चारकाः स्वरान्', etc.

The evolution of the scale of the *sāmans* is evident in the statements of both Yājñavalkya and Pāṇini, though they have related them in the terms of *laukika* or *deśī* notes of the later period. Yājñavalkya says :

उच्चौ निषादगान्धारौ नीचावृषभ धैवतौ ।
शेषास्तु स्वरिता ज्ञेयाः षड्ज मध्यम-पञ्चमाः ॥

While Pāṇini states,

उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावानुदात्ते ऋषभधैवतौ ।
स्वरितः प्रभवा ह्येते षड्ज-मध्यम-पञ्चमाः ॥

It has already been said that *anudātta*, *svarita* and *udātta*, or grave, circumflex and high or acute are the base notes or accent-tones, from which seven notes of both Vedic and *deśī* music evolved. The *svarīta* or circumflex was the gliding middle, and was regarded as the tonic of the early songs, and a *descent* from this tonic became *anudātta* or grave, and an *ascent* from the tonic became *udātta* or high. *Svarita* or circumflex i.e. tonic would, therefore, be the combination of the two, deep tone and high tone. Among the seven *laukika* or *deśī* tones, *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* (*deśī*) or *tṛtīya* and *mandra* (Vedic) evolved from the *anudātta* or grave accent-tone ; *niṣāda* and *gāndhāra* (*deśī*) or *atsvārya* and *dvitīya* (Vedic) from the *udātta* or high, and *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *pañchama*

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(*deśī*), or *caturtha*, *prathama* and *kruṣṭa* (Vedic) from the *svarita* or circumflex. According to the dictum of the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* : 'त्रिषु मन्द्रादिषु स्थानेषु एकैकस्मिन् सप्त-सप्त यमाः भवन्ति', three sets of seven notes of the bass, medium and high (*mandra*, *madhya* and *tāra*) evolved to form the complete *saptaka* (octave) of both the Vedic and formalised *deśī* music. Thus we get the following medium or *madhya-saptaka* scale *deśī* notes.

anudātta	*svarita*	*udātta*
ri, dha,	sa, ma, pa,	ni, ga
2 6	1 4 5	7 3
(*grave*)	(*medium*)	(*high*)

The *madhya-saptaka* scale of the Vedic notes,

anudātta	*svarita*	*udātta*
tṛtīya, mandra,	caturtha, prathama, kruṣṭa,	atsvārya, dvitīya,
3 5	4 1 7	6 2
(*grave*)	(*medium*)	(*high*)

Those, who are inclined to consider *vaidika kruṣṭa* corresponds *laukika madhyama*, *prathama gandhara*, etc, arrange the notes, *vaidika* and *laukika* as follows :

				prathama—	ग
svarita—	म	स	प	*dvitīya*—	रि
				tṛtīya—	स
udātta—	म		नि	*caturtha*—	नि
				mandra—	ध
				atisvārya—	प
anudātta—	रि		ध	*kruṣṭa*—	म[2]

2. Shri K. Vāsudeva Śāstrī of Tānjore says as

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but if we follow Nārada's order : 'यः सामगानां प्रथमः सः वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः' etc., we get the descending order as,

prathama—	म		
dvitīya—	ग		
tṛitiya—	रि		
caturtha—	स		
mandra—	ध़	or	नि़
atisvārya—	नि़		ध़
kruṣṭa—	प़		प़

However, in every case, both the seven notes can be arranged so as to form a complete scale. The equivalent of the series of the *laukika* or *deśī* notes to those of the *vaidika* ones can be found from the statements of Uvata, in

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regards the notes of the Sāmaveda : "The Sāma Veda is said to be constructed with the help of seven notes. They are equated in the Śikṣā of Nārada with Ma Ga Ri Sa Ni Dha and Pa. But when the Sāma Veda is chanted, we are not reminded of any secular rāga. The identification of the notes of the Sāma Veda with particular notes, naturals sharps or flats, of secular music has given rise to an amusing number of conjeures. The most plausible one is to equate them to the notes beginning from Ga of Kharaharapriyā of the South which is same thing as Kāfi of the North. But it is also plain that neither of the two rāgas are brought to our mind when we hear the Sāman chant".—Vide *The Science of Music* (1954), p. 71.

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connection with the 44th aphorism of the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* :

Firstly—ये ते सप्त-स्वराः षड्ज-ऋषभ-गान्धार-मध्यम-पञ्चम-धैवत-तिषादाः स्वराः इति गान्धर्ववेदे समाम्नाताः ।

Secendly—तथा सामसु—क्रुष्ट-प्रथम-द्वितीय-तृतीय-चतुर्थ-मन्द्रातिस्वार्या इति ते यमा नाम वेदितव्याः ।

Thus it is clear that *anudātta*, *svarita* and *udātta* have been regarded as the *sthāna-svaras*, or register, or accent tones, and the complete scale of the seven notes, both *laukika* and *vaidika*, evolved not only as the medium one (*madhya-saptaka* scale), but also as the bass or *mandra*, and high or *tāra* sets of *saptakas* or scales.

There were many modes of singing of the *sāmagānas* for their different renderings, and six *vikāras* or variations in intonation were common in them. The six *vikāras* were *viśleṣaṇa*, *vikarṣaṇa*, *abhyāsa*, *virāma*, and *stobha*. As for example, to intonate the verse of the Ṛkveda : अग्न आयाहि वीतये गृणानो हव्यदातये । नि होता सत्सि बर्हिषि, etc. five variations in intonation, with some additional letters like ओ, होवा, हाउ हाउ तोयि, etc., which were known as *stobhas*, were used. Four kinds of *sāmagāna* were prevelant in the Vedic period, and they were known as *grāmegeya* or *prakṛti-gāna*, *araṇyegeya-gāna*, *uhagāna*, and *ūhyagāna* or *rahasya-gāna*. The notes of the *gānas* (*sāmagāna*) were indicated by the numerals of the letters, 1, 2, 3, etc., and they were shown by the help of the fingers of the hands, to detect the correct singing or rendering

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of the *sāmans*. The rhythm and tempo were kept by the undulation of the head and the different limbs of the body. The *sāmans* were generally sung before the sacrificial altars, and specially in the *somayāga*, in laudation of the Vedic deities. Besides these, they were also sung during different sacred rites and functions. Well it has been said by Arnold Bake that at the actual sacrifices "a hymn is executed by three priests who sing its seven divisions alone or in chorus. The priests, to whom the singing of the Sāmaveda is allotted, are the *Udgātar* with his two acolytes, the Prastotar and the Pratihartar. The introductory part, the *Huṃkāra* (the singing of the syllable *huṃ*), is done by the three together. Then follow: 2, the *Prastāva*, or prelude, sung by the *Prastotar*; 3, the *Udgītha*, or main theme, by the *Udgātar*; 4, the *Pratihāra*, the first responsorium, by the *Pratihartar*; 5, the *Upadrava*, second responsorium, again by the *Udgātra*; the *Nidhana*, or final chorus, by the three priests in unision; and finally, 7, the *Praṇava*, the chanting of the syllable *oṃ*, also in chorus, which seals the hymn like Amen".

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NOTES

A. It has been mentioned in pages 60-61 and 63 that a lute or *Veeṇā* with seven strings has been excavated from a prehistoric mound in the Indus Valley, and as such it is a pointer to the prevalence of seven notes in those remote days. In support of my statement, I have quoted in the footnote, Stuart Piggot's *Prehistoric India*. But it should be mentioned in this connection that though a crude prototype of the modern *Veeṇā* has been found there, it cannot be asserted with any degree of certainty that the practice of seven notes or tones was current in the prehistoric Indian society.

For clarification, Piggot's statement is quoted below: "There is some interesting evidence for Aryan music. Cymbals were used to accompany dancing, and in addition to this and the drum there were reed flutes or pipes, a stringed instrument of the lute class, and a harp or lyre, which is mentioned as having seven tones or notes". 'It refers only to an instrument of Vedic times mentioned in the Rigveda, but not to any instrument from Harappa sites' says Sri S. R. Rao, M.A., Superintendent, Dept. of Archaeology, Excavation Branch, Nagpur. I take the opportunity to offer my sincere thanks to Shri Rao, for drawing my attention to the above fact (vide his D.O. letter No. 14/1/59-4250, dated the 4th Dec., 1959).

B. The English synonyms of the Sanskrit words *aṁśa* or *vādī*, *samvādī*, *anuvādī* and *vivādī* are the sonant, consonant, assonant and dissonant. But in a few places of the book, the English synonym of the the term *samvādī* has inadvertently been given as dissonant. It should be read as consonant.

C. The precise dates of Rāy Rāmānanda, Swāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, Swāmī Haridāsa, and Tānsen have been briefly discussed

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in this book, in connection with the development of *padāvalī-Kīrtana* of Bengal, at pages, 296-300. Here I would like to draw the attention of the readers to a statement (about these dates), made by Śrī Kālicharaṇ Pattnāik, in the *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras Vol. XXIX, 1958, pts. I-IV, p. 8, in connection with the *Odissi Music*. Śrī Pattnāik has said: "1538 A. D. may be considered as the era of Rāmānanda. Kṛṣṇadās Goswāmī (1496-1572) with disciple of Rāy Rāmānanda and Haridās Goswāmī (1573-1608), the eminent musician of India, had his training in music from Kṛṣṇadās, the famous musician. The celebrated Tānsen was the disciple of Haridās. In 1563 A.D., he was the greatest court-musician of the court of Akbar". In my humble opinion, the ideas conveyed in the sentences are not sufficiently clear, and the dates of all the music savants mentioned therein, seem to have been estimated rather hastily, because, if Kṛṣṇadāsa Goswāmī's time is ascribed to 1496-1572 A.D., then it will not perhaps be proper to consider Haridāsa Swāmī as the disciple of the former, as the date of the latter has been ascribed to 1573-1608 A.D. Again, if the celebrated Tānsen is taken to have earned the fame as the greatest court-musician of Akbar in 1563 A.D., then it follows that he went to Haridāsa Swāmī to take his lessons in music, when Haridāsa was only 9 or 10 years old, which is absolutely impossible. Again it has been mentioned that Rāy Rāmānanda's full name was Rāy Rāmānanda Patnāik, and the book *Gīta-Prakāśa* was written by Kṛṣṇadāsa Baḍajana Mahāpātra. We do not know whether the titles 'Patnāik' (for Rāy Rāmānanda) and 'Baḍajana Mahāpātra' (For Swāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa) have any historical bearings or value.

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ERRATA

page	line	read	instead of
22	4	consonant	dissonant
48	28	two classes,	two classes
60	16	lute	lutes
63	15	were	was
63	27	Mohenjo-daro	Mohenj -daro
65	8	*sāmagāna*	*sāmagana*
77	18	Khusrau	Khasrau
78	21	Hussain Sharqī	Hussan Shirque
111	18	consonant	dissonant
128	footnote	तं भव	थं भव
129	19	*madhyamā*	*madhyama*
131	footnote	*Jātis*	*Jatis*
139	2	ऋषभोत्थित:	ऋषभोत्थित:
145	8	Pārśvadeva	Pārśadeva
do	18	,,	,,
do	22	,,	,,
146	2	,,	,,
177	5	consonant	dissonant
304	12	*nissāruka*	*nissāra*
do	27	द्वि खण्ड	द्विखण्ड
329	30	The *tāla* has been used as *lophā*	The *tāla* used has been *lophā*

373 heading will be as follows,

EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF VEEṆĀ

383	14	*Svaramelakalānidhi*	*Saramelakalānidhi*
396	19	*dhruvapada*	*dhrupapada*
Appendix 415		*Udātta*—ग नि ...	स नि

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RAGA BILAVALA

(Bundi Collection, early 18th century A.D.)

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RAGA TODI

(Turkish Influence, Rajasthani Painting, Jaipur, 18th century A.D.)

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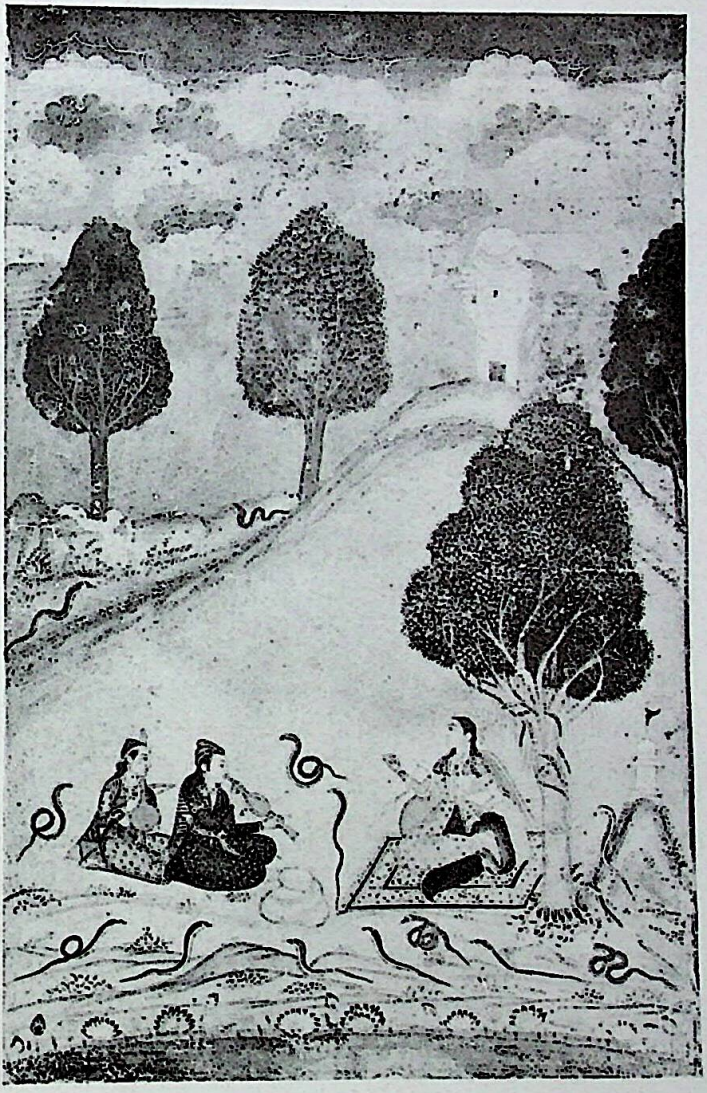

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(Rajasthani, early 17th century A.D.)

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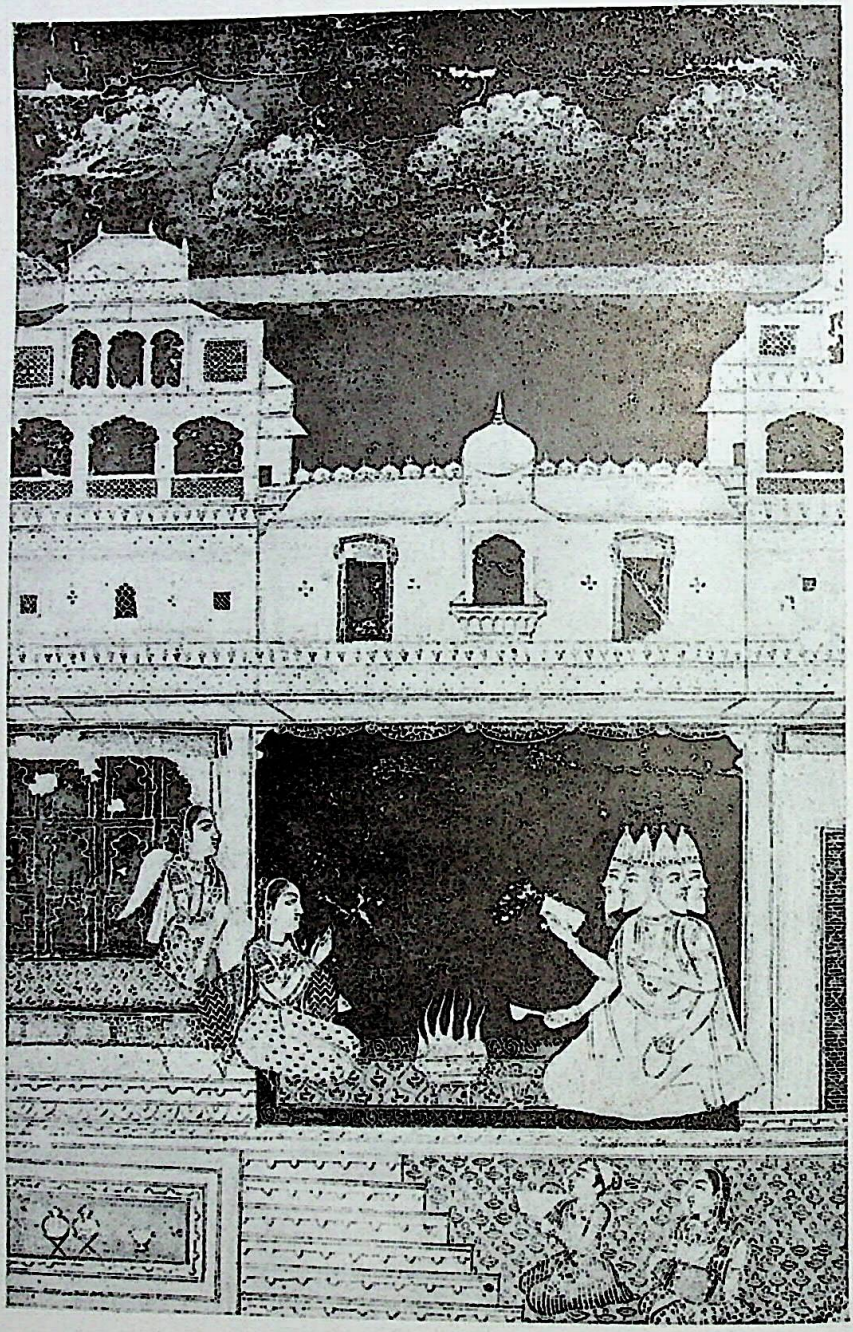
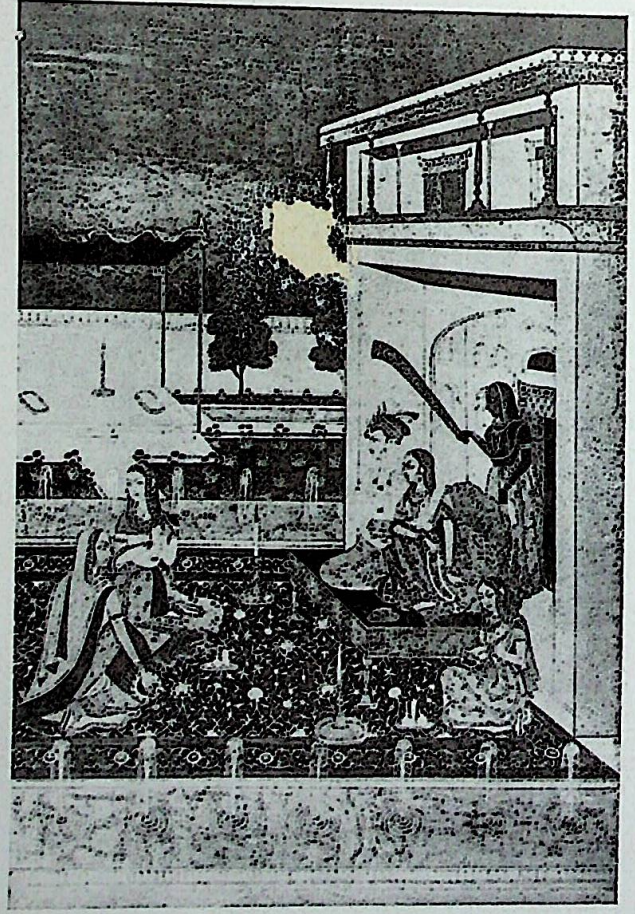
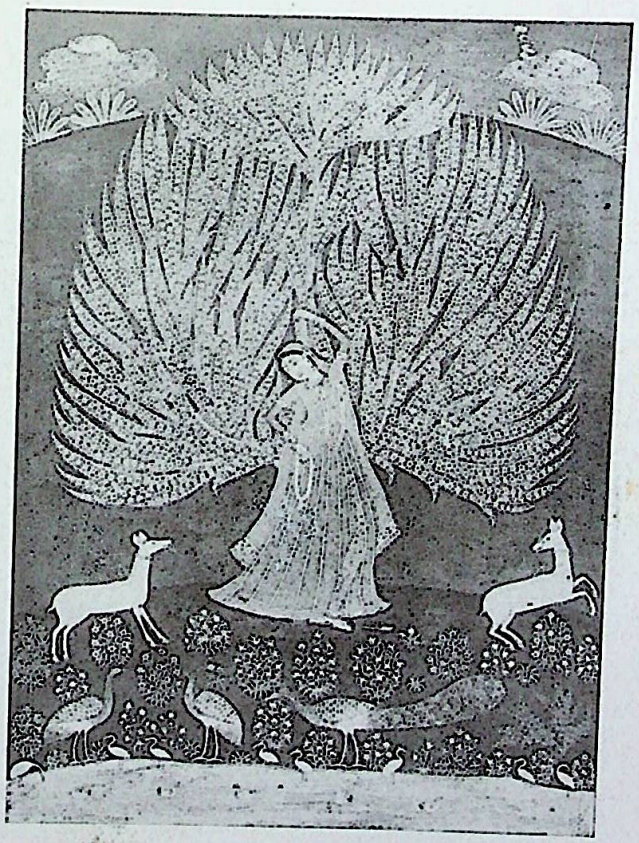


RAGA KHAMBAJ
(Persian Influence, 17th-18th century A.D.)



RAGA HINDOLA

(Rajasthani, with Mughal Influence, 18th century A.D.)



RAGA KAKUBHA

(Rajasthani, with Mughal Influence, 18th century A.D.)

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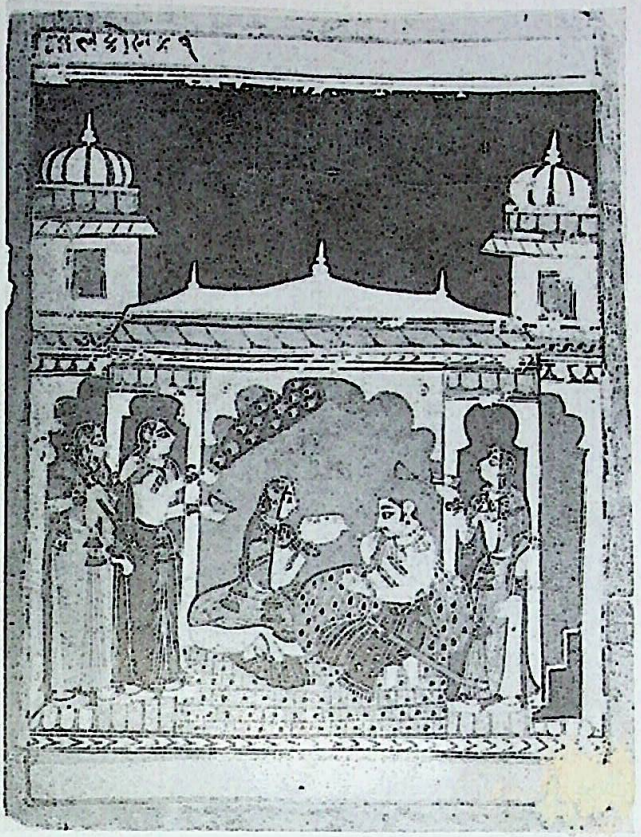
RAGA GAUDA-MALLARA
(Rajasthani, middle of the 16th century A.D.)



RAGA MALAVAKAUSIKA
(Rajasthani, 16th century A.D.)

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VEENA-PLAYER

(Ruper-Sunga-Terracotta, 200 B.C.—600 A.D.)

VEENA-PLAYER

(Nagarjunakonda, 2nd-3rd century A.D.)

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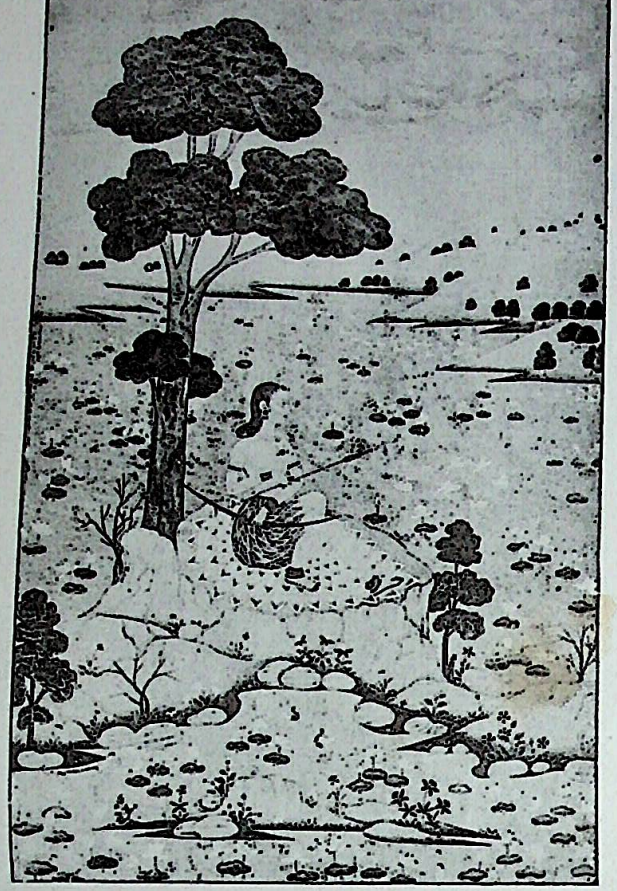

RAGA MEGHA-MALLARA
(Rajasthani, 18th century A.D.)

A FEMALE WITH A VEENA
(Bracket-Figure, Khajuraho Central India c 1000)

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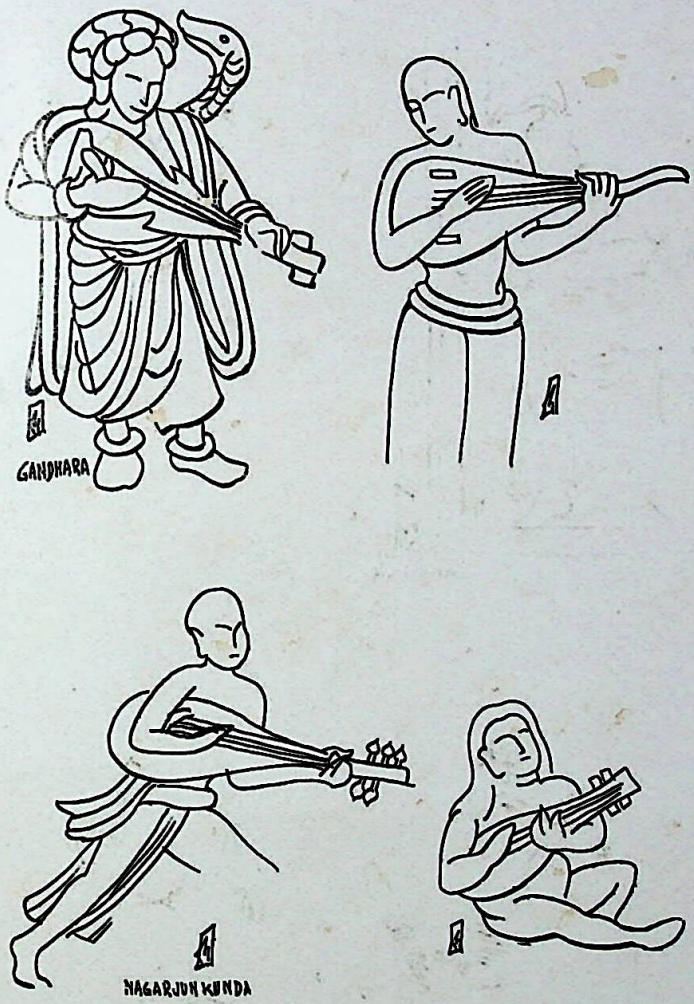

Veenas of ancient Type
(Gandhara, 1st-2nd century A.D. ; Nagarjunakonda, 2nd-3rd century A.D.)

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Veenas of ancient Type (Gandhara) and Harp Type
Gandhara, 1st-2nd century A.D. ; Barabudur, 8th century A.D., Bharut, 200 B.C.

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Veenas of the Saroda and Harp Types

(Barabudur, 8th century A.D. ; Champa, 1st-2nd—13th century A.D. ; Samudragupta with Veena, 4th century A.D. ; Sumara, Russia, 5th-6th century A.D.)

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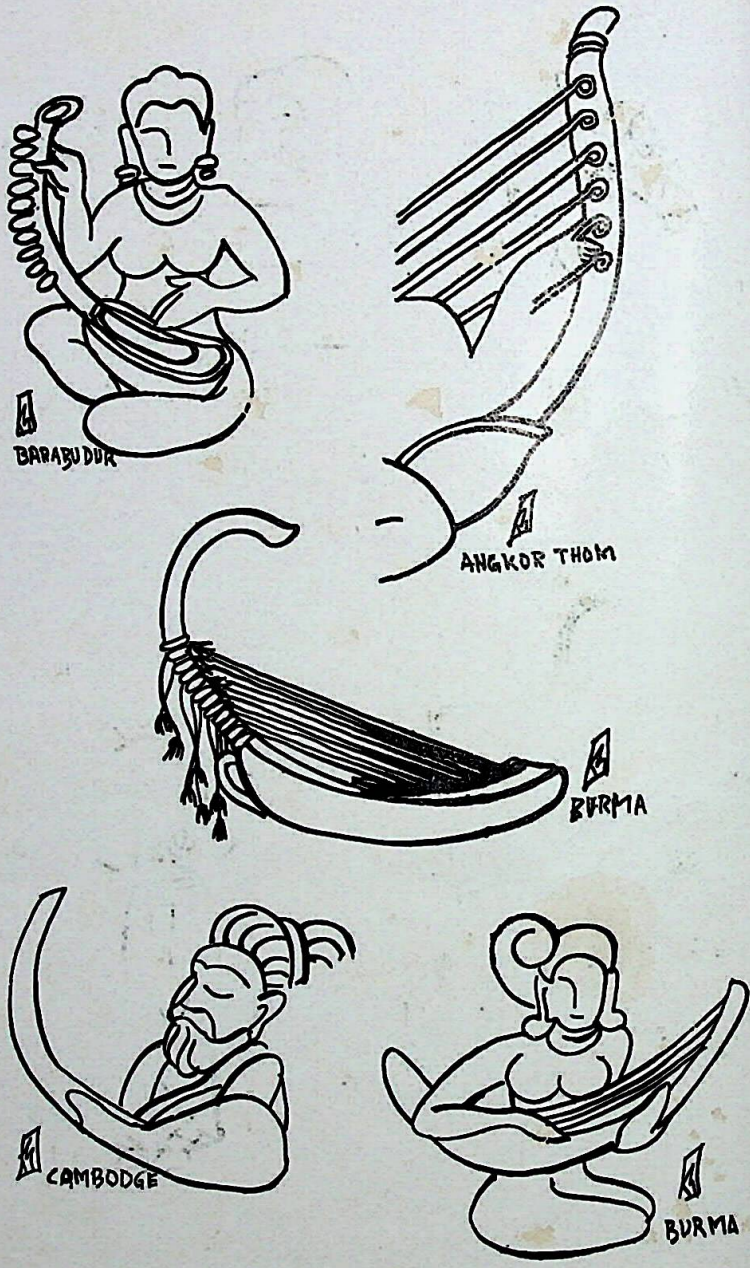

Veenas of the Harp Type

(Barabudur, 8th century A.D. ; Angkor Thom, 12th-13th century A.D. ; Burma, 2nd-8th century A.D. ; Çambodge, 6th-13th century A.D.)

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Veenas of the Harp Type.
(Amaravati, 2nd-3rd century A.D. ; Qizil, 6th century A.D.)

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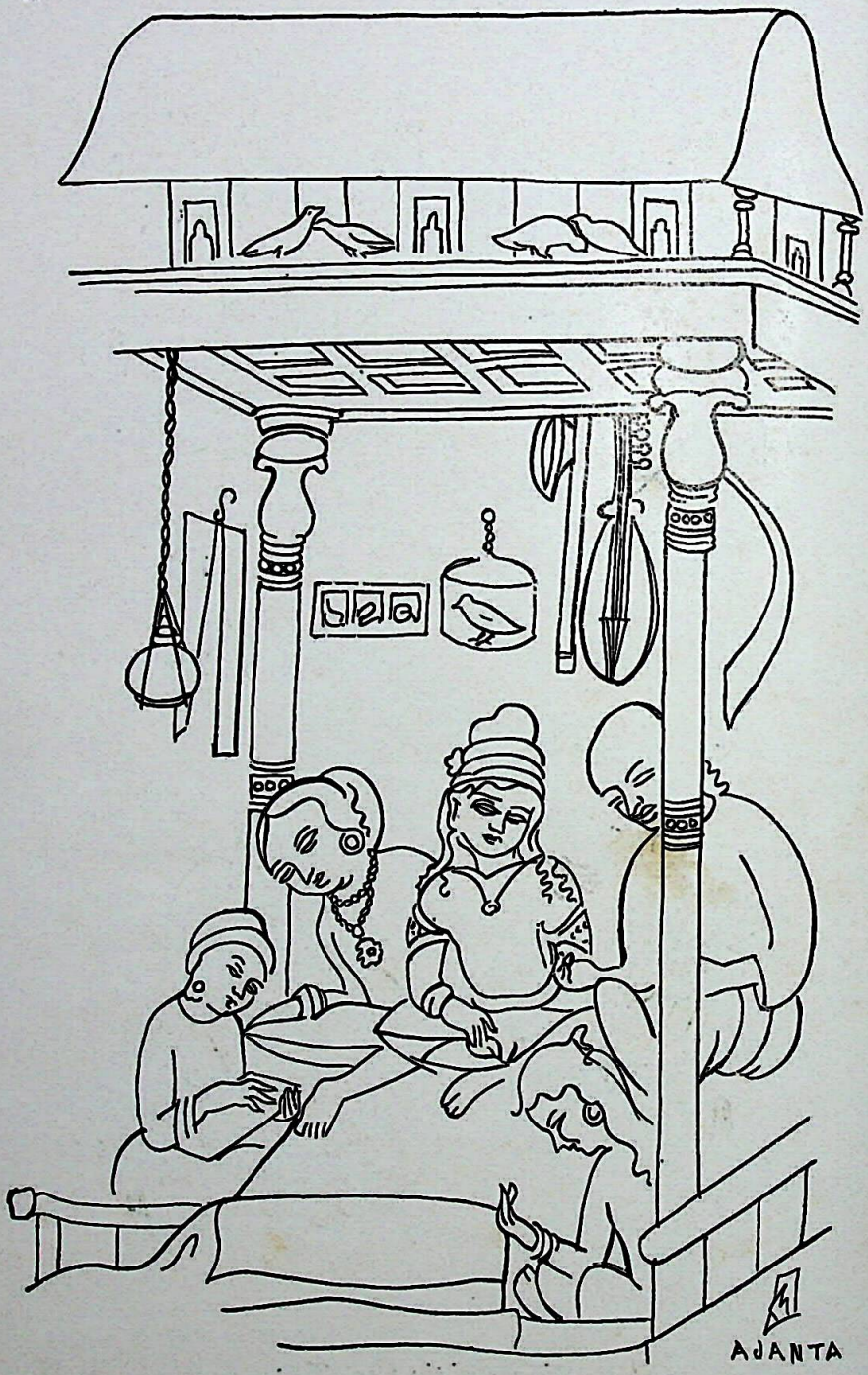

Veena in the School of Siddhartha (Ajanta)
(Ajanta, 200 B.C.—7th century A.D.)

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Veenas with one and two Gourds

(Mahavalipuram, 7th century A.D. ; Bagali-Kaleswara, 14th century A.D. (Bengal) ; Rangpur, 9th century A.D. ; Ajanta, 200 B.C.—7th century A.D.)

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Veenas with one Gourd

(Polannarua, Ceylon, 7th century A.D. ; Champa, 1st-2nd—13th century A.D.)

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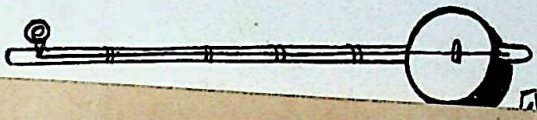

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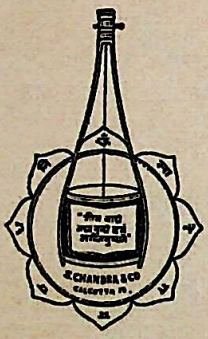

এস্, চন্দ্র এণ্ড কোং

(বাদ্যযন্ত্র বিক্রেতা)

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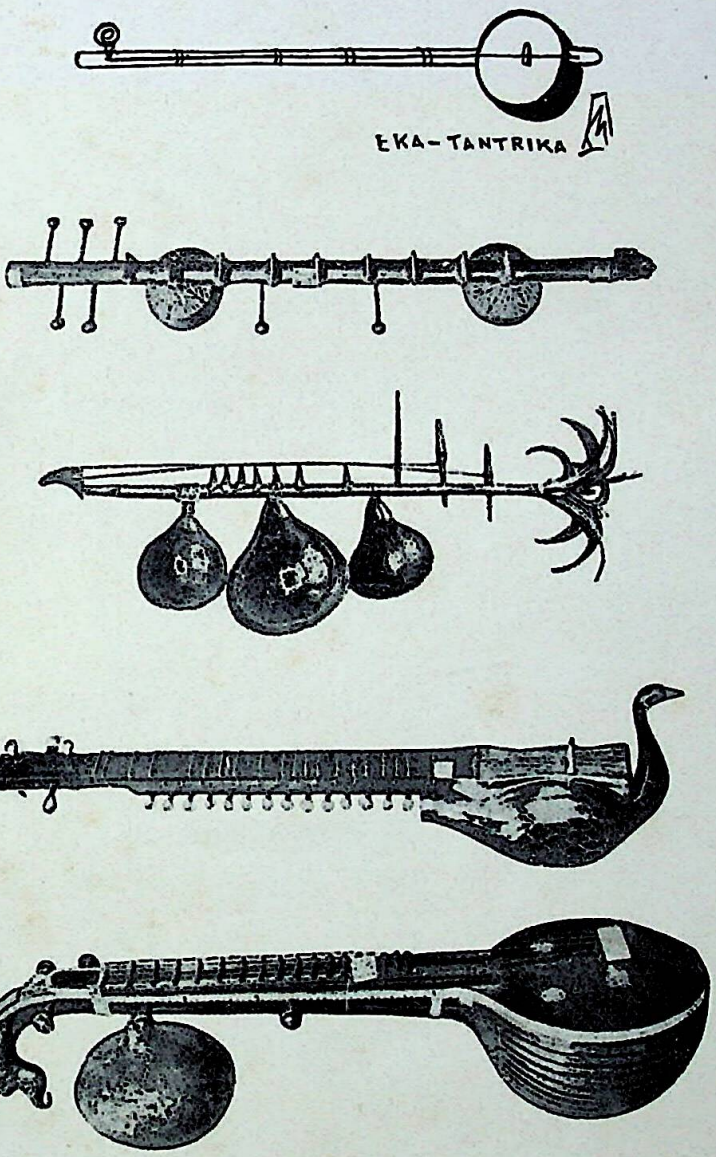

Veenas of modern Type

1. Eka-tantri-veena ; 2. Mahati-veena ; 3. Kinnari-veena ; 4. Mayuri-veena ; 5. South-Indian Veena.

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